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Cherchez les Femmes: Textual Representations of Jack the Ripper's Victims, 1888-1914

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines a series of early textual representations of the women killed by Jack the Ripper in London, 1888. By tracking various modes of representation across a variety of media between the time of the murders and 1914, it interrogates the provenance and early evolution of the cultural narrative of the Ripper. Employing feminist theories of representation, it seeks to answer the questions: What might the Ripper narrative look like if it were told from the perspectives of his victims? How might the centrality of these women's stories then change the resultant field of representation, and challenge the dominant Ripper myth (still implicitly accepted as the natural and true telling of the Ripper case) that casts the killer as the heroic centre of the story? This dissertation begins with a chapter about the lives of the women Jack the Ripper murdered. Using fragments of documentary evidence and historical information compiled from a variety of sources, Chapter One takes its cue from Judith Walkowitz and works to "shape" the representations of the Ripper's victims by retelling the story from these women's perspectives. Chapter Two examines the representations of these women in a cross-sampling of the Victorian press. Chapter Three turns to the imaginative representations of the victims found in several "pulp" fictionalizations of the case that were published in the months and years following the crimes. This chapter includes a discussion of the first fictional text to pit a female detective against the criminal, Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer (1912). Finally, Chapter Four examines the first complete novelization of the Ripper case, The Lodger (1913), by Marie Belloc Lowndes. Ultimately, The Lodger provides a strongly voiced counterpoint to the narratives that precede it, arguing for increased female representation in the case, and making the

provocative suggestion that the problem of male violence cannot be solved within the confines of male-dominated systems of knowledge. The course of the dissertation, then, articulates a progression in women's representational engagement with the Ripper case.

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Introduction

Jack the Ripper and the Women he Killed

Setting the Scene

In April, 2005 I traveled to London, England to conduct research for this dissertation. As a scholar of the Jack the Ripper murders of 1888, I was particularly interested in seeing the areas of the city in which the crimes took place. I decided to attend one of the many widely advertised walking tours of the Ripper's crime scenes that attract tourists from around the world. The one I chose billed itself as the "original" Ripper walk, and used its association with preeminent Ripper scholar Donald Rumbelow to claim unparalleled historical accuracy and academic legitimacy.[1] The tour started at Tower Hill, and as our guide (not Rumbelow himself, but an actor/presenter) walked us through the various crime sites, explaining their history and relevance to the case, I began to feel a creeping sense of discomfort. We were walking in what our guide claimed were the criminal's footsteps, standing in the exact spaces – on the very same cobblestones – where women were attacked, mutilated and killed. Yet our guide concentrated on other elements of the cases (suspects and theories, especially), and mentioned the women themselves infrequently. His comments about the victims were almost uniformly derogatory, while he described the killer in terms that might be considered heroic. He walked us through the dark and narrow lanes that were known haunts for prostitutes in the late nineteenth century, and played their notoriety for laughs. He reminded us several times that although the Ripper's victims were prostitutes, we were not to imagine that they were physically attractive, or that *we* would be sexually attracted to them; in fact, they were ugly, alcoholic, and probably disease-ridden hags – hilarious in their wretchedness and easy sexuality. The Ripper, on the other hand, was surely an ingenious criminal to avoid detection and capture. Our tour guide presented him, in the words of Rumbelow, as "part-folk hero, part-myth" (275).

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[1] See <www.jacktheripperwalk.com>

Upon reflection, I determined that there were several reasons for my discomfort with the content of this walking tour. The story the guide told over the course of the tour revolved around the personality of the criminal, and denied the Ripper's victims any measure of individuality, agency, or subjectivity. This was a story about the mysterious Ripper – not about the deaths of five women. The murders themselves were depicted as titillating bits of entertainment, sold to the audience without consideration of the tragic, brutal deaths of the women themselves. As an enthusiastic tourist, I was keenly aware of my own implication in the financial exploitation of these women's deaths, both as a paying audience member, and perhaps – more disturbingly for me – as a scholar of the Ripper's crimes. Spurred on by my discomfiting experience on the Ripper tour in London, I began to question my own motives for selecting the Ripper crisis as a subject of scholarly interest. Was I, too, exploiting the Ripper's victims by appropriating their deaths for my own academic purposes?

In the year that followed, I read dozens upon dozens of Ripper texts of all types, and came to the conclusion that representing the Ripper's victims in negative ways while focusing on their mysterious and glamorous killer is a common and long-standing characteristic of narratives about the Ripper and his crimes. And this is not just true of fictional narratives; factual texts about the Ripper also often seem to prefer the excitement of the hunt for the identity of the criminal over an interest in the poverty-stricken but very ordinary women who were his victims. A plethora of popular books and articles have been published since the murders that advance intricate theories, suggest unlikely motives, identify suspects, and (more recently) attempt forensic analyses of the cases. Almost none offers insight into the lives or subsequent representations of the victims, other than the over-determined statement that they were all poor, and all prostitutes.[2]

This dissertation has evolved out of my experience on the Ripper tour, and my subsequent consideration of the cultural articulation and evolution of Ripper narratives, particularly the ways in which these narratives represent the Ripper's victims and engage with questions of gender. While the multitude of texts about the Ripper makes it impossible to speak of a single story of the crimes, each distinct narrative involving the Ripper participates – to a greater or lesser extent, and in sometimes vastly different ways – in the evolution and articulation of a larger, cultural narrative of the Ripper and his crimes, one that represents the Ripper as a

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[2] This statement requires elaboration, as I will demonstrate later in this dissertation. The Victorian category of "prostitute" is broad, and while each victim was undoubtedly poor, each engaged with sex work in different ways and under different circumstances.

"folk hero" while effectively ignoring his victims. In the words of feminist scholar Sandra McNeill, "we are left alienated from the woman whose story it is, not understanding what happened to her, her motives and choices cut short" (182). The questions that permeate this dissertation, then, are: How are the Ripper's victims represented – or not represented – in narratives of their murders? How do those representations signify? And is it possible to challenge the mode of representation implicitly accepted as the natural and true telling of the Ripper case that casts the Ripper as the heroic centre of the story? By examining specific Ripper texts from a variety of sources, all published between the time of the murders and the First World War (which coincides neatly with the appearance of the first complete novelization of the Ripper case), this dissertation seeks to understand representations of women in early articulations and subsequent evolutions of stories about the Ripper.

A Note on Sources: Ripperology and Ripper Studies

The first book-length historical account of the Ripper was written by Leonard Matters, and published in 1929. Titled The Mystery of Jack the Ripper, the book uses historical research to advance a claim about the identity of the killer: Matters identifies an English doctor named Stanley as the murderer. Despite the fact that "Matters himself said that he could not vouch for the genuineness of the story" (Rumbelow 184), this originating piece of Ripper research proved highly influential. In fact, its combination of factual historical information and possibly fictional ruminations on the identity of the killer has become the defining feature of

"Ripperology," a term this dissertation uses to categorize texts that follow Matters' precedent. Ripperology, then, uses sometimes shaky or uncited historical research to support an argument about the identity of the killer – occasionally at the expense of credulity. These texts are followers of the so-called "Great Game" of Ripper-hunting, and are primarily concerned with identifying the killer.[3] Only one Ripperologist, Neal Shelden, has devoted entire works to the victims, instead of the killer.[4] His texts, however, are self-published and are very difficult to obtain. In the lucrative and ever-growing world of Ripper publications, this is highly unusual, and is illustrative of Ripperology's general lack of interest in the victims, despite the public's insatiable appetite for works on the Ripper himself. Although they often prove fascinating, Ripperological texts follow their own genre, and cannot be read as academic historical texts. They are thus not appropriate sources of historical information for this dissertation. Instead, Ripperology texts prove a rich site of inquiry for this study of victim representation.

The vastness of the field of publications about the Ripper makes it necessary to distinguish between two types of Ripper publications. I therefore distinguish Ripperology from "Ripper Studies," which I define as academic history texts, principally concerned with preserving and disseminating historical documents and information related to the Ripper case. Crucially, these texts employ scholarly methodologies and provide complete citations. The first of these is Donald Rumbelow's book The Complete Jack the Ripper, published in 1975. Rumbelow does not himself attempt to identify the Ripper. His book is considered to be the first of the comprehensive Ripper histories; it was the definitive authority on the history of the Ripper case for several decades. Many dozens of Ripperology books were written following the appearance of Rumbelow's text; however, a new authoritative Ripper Studies text did not appear until 2000, when Stewart P. Evans and Keith Skinner's book The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Companion: An Illustrated Encyclopedia appeared on the scene.[5] This book publishes much previously unavailable documentary evidence, and is now read alongside Rumbelow's book as a definitive text of Ripper Studies. Most recently, the Internet site Casebook.org has made available a wide array of historical texts and photos related to the Ripper, including high-quality digital reproductions of many original archival documents. The site was created and is maintained by scholar Stephen P. Ryder, and is considered the best historical Ripper website available because of its breadth and accuracy of information. For documentary historical evidence, this dissertation relies upon these three well-regarded academic sources.

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[3] Some of these Ripperology texts include William Beadle's Jack the Ripper: Anatomy of a Myth in which the author identifies William Henry Bury as the Ripper; Paul Begg's Jack the Ripper, the Uncensored Facts: A Documentary History of the Whitechapel Murders of 1888 which identifies the killer as a Polish Jew named Kosminski; Peter Turnbull's The Killer Who Never Was: A Re-appraisal of the Whitechapel Murders of 1888 which contends that the Ripper murders could not have been the work of one man; Martin Fido's The Crimes, Detection and Death of Jack the Ripper, which identifies a known Whitechapel lunatic, David Cohen, as the murderer; and most recently, Patricia Cornwell's Portrait of a Killer: Jack the Ripper Case Closed which accuses artist Walter Sickert of being the murderer.

[4] These are Jack the Ripper and His Victims: Research Into the Victims of the Infamous Victorian Murderer, Annie Chapman, Jack the Ripper Victim: A Short Biography, and Catherine Eddowes: Jack the Ripper Victim. A further examination of Shelden's work follows in Chapter One.

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[5] Fittingly, Evans and Skinner dedicate their book to Rumbelow, their predecessor.

Defining the Case

With so little factual evidence about the Ripper and his crimes extant, and so many varying interpretations of the case pervading the surrounding scholarship, delineating the boundaries of the case itself becomes a challenge. Rumbelow, setting precedent, begins his in-depth discussion of the case with the murder of Mary Ann Nichols on August 31, 1888, and although he acknowledges the earlier murders of Emma Smith and Martha Tabram, who are sometimes included in the Ripper file, his focus on Nichols suggests he considers her the first proper victim of the Ripper. More recently, Evans and Skinner observe:

> The police files on the so-called Whitechapel Murders began with the murder of Emma Smith on 3/4 April 1888, and did not finish until the murder of Frances Coles on 13 February 1891. In all, eleven murders are included in these files and, in the opinion of the authors, as few as three or as many as six may have been the work of a common hand, that of the criminal now known to history as "Jack the Ripper." (3)[6]

If, then, there is little factual information about the "Ripper" himself, and no definitive evidence of what exactly the boundaries of the case are, there *is* a set of generally agreed-upon facts. Five murders resemble each other closely enough that most historians and Ripperologists consider them to comprise the standard, core

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[6] Although the killer was initially referred to as "The Unknown" by the press (see, for example, The Daily Telegraph October 2, 1888, p.3), he was popularly dubbed "Jack the Ripper," after the wide publication of a letter purporting to be from the killer himself, dated September 25, 1888 and published September 29. Experts have not definitively proven the authenticity of that letter (nor, for that matter, any of the other hundreds of letters they received claiming to be from the killer).

Ripper cases. The five women murdered between August 31 and November 9, 1888 in London's East End – Mary Ann Nichols, Annie Chapman, Elizabeth Stride, Catherine Eddowes, and Mary Kelly – are usually considered to have been killed by the same man. Although without forensic or other definitive evidence, it is impossible to delineate the boundaries of the Ripper case precisely, these five victims were murdered in similar ways, and in close proximity to each other. My project therefore follows precedent and focuses on the murders of these five women. Although the press eventually came to assume that two previous murders were also the work of the Ripper, they made this assumption only in retrospect, and so my study of the Ripper reportage begins with the origins of the media interest in the case.

The Events of the Case: Historical Overview

By the early fall of 1888, London's East End had already witnessed the murders of two women: Emma Smith (April 3/4) and Martha Tabram (August 7). These murders varied greatly in methodology: Smith was attacked, sexually assaulted and robbed by a gang of three men, and Tabram died of multiple stab wounds. Because of the differences between these unsolved crimes, neither woman is now considered to be a victim of the Ripper. The London Metropolitan Police files of the Ripper case, however, do include these murders; the media, in retrospect, also attributed these murders to the Ripper.

Mary Ann Nichols, now generally considered the first of the Ripper's victims, was killed early on August 31, 1888. As Evans and Skinner state, "Whether or not either of the two previous murders had been committed by the same hand, which is unlikely, both police and press linked the killing with the previous two, and the idea that a maniac was abroad, killing prostitutes, was born" (21). It is with Nichols' murder, then, that a pattern in the violence against women in the East End was perceived and articulated, and the Ripper press phenomenon arose. Nichols was found by a police officer, lying dead in Buck's Row with her throat cut and her clothes in disarray. In addition to knife wounds over much of her torso and abdomen, she had been disemboweled. Nichols was quickly identified by the Lambeth Workhouse stamp on her dress, and was discovered to have been a prostitute who had left her husband nine years before, and was now living in a common lodging house. She was last seen alive earlier that night, leaving to find clients to earn the money to pay for her accommodations for the night. Beyond this, police could discover nothing. Her inquest returned a verdict that was to become familiar in the coming months: "Wilful [*sic*] murder against some person or persons unknown" (Evans and Skinner 48).

The same day as Nichols' murder, Sir Robert Anderson was appointed as the Assistant Commissioner of the Criminal Investigation Division (C.I.D.), Scotland Yard.[7] He succeeded James Monro, who was temporarily transferred to the Home Office. As head of the C.I.D. during much of the so-called Autumn of Terror, Anderson came under heavy criticism from the government and the newspapers for his handling of the case, particularly because immediately following his appointment, he retreated to Switzerland on sick leave, and remained there for a month. This criticism was perhaps misguided, as Anderson's senior position meant that he "did not take an active part in the investigation" (Evans and Skinner 675). The most senior active investigator of the case was Sir Charles Warren, the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, who continued in this role until his resignation in November, 1888. He was succeeded, in a somewhat incestuous turn, by Monro.[8] Throughout the Ripper crisis, then, the highest levels of the police organization were embroiled in internal politics, and appeared to be in a state of constant upheaval. This did not lend them credibility in the already-critical public eye.[9]

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[7] The organization of the police force in late-Victorian London was exceedingly complex and ever-changing. For an overview, see Philip Thurmond Smith's Policing Victorian London: Political Policing, Public Order, and the London Metropolitan Police.

On September 8, 1888 – the day after Nichols' funeral – the body of another woman was discovered. Annie Chapman was found dead in Hanbury Street, her throat cut and her body mutilated. She was immediately identified by the owner of her lodging house, who also confirmed her occupation as a prostitute. A Metropolitan Police Report contends that Chapman was "murdered in the same manner [as Nichols], the mutilations being of the same description but more brutal leaving no doubt that the same person committed both crimes" (Evans and Skinner 64). From this point on, police detained and investigated numerous men from the area, considered suspicious for varying reasons, but none was brought to trial. The inquest into Chapman's death ran over four days between September 12 and 26, and returned with the same verdict as Nichols'.

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[8] For a full account of the internal politicking that led to Warren's resignation, see Evans and Skinner 350-358.

[9] The Queen herself expressed concern about this state of affairs in a letter to the Home Office on November 13: "The Queen fears [Warren's] resignation will have a bad effect in encouraging the lawbreaker to defy the police . . . . At the same time The Queen fears that the Detective department is not so efficient as it might be" (Evans and Skinner 358).

The next major event in the Ripper chronology is the "double event" of September 30, 1888, when two women were killed on the same night. [10] The body of Elizabeth Stride was discovered, still warm, at 1:00 a.m. in Duffield's Yard off Berner Street. Her throat had been cut, but there was no mutilation to her body, and it was supposed that frequent traffic from the next-door meeting of the Jewish socialist International Working Men's Club had frightened off the criminal before he could complete his task. The inquest into her death ran for four days between October 1 and 23, and during the proceedings she was identified by her embarrassed sister as a probable prostitute who had trouble with alcohol. However, the deputy of a lodging house Stride had stayed in described her as "a very quiet and sober woman" who worked as a cleaner, and was now living on a permanent basis with a man in Fashion St. (Evans and Skinner 151). As we shall see, like the Ripper himself, Stride's character was the site of conflicting representations.

On the same day, at 1:45 a.m., the body of Catherine Eddowes was found in Mitre Square with her throat cut, body mutilated and disemboweled, and the uterus and one kidney removed. [11] Half a human kidney was subsequently posted to the Chairman of the East End Vigilance Committee along with a letter ostensibly from the murderer. It is uncertain whether these items were authentic. According to the official police report, on the wall behind Eddowes' body, written in chalk, was the phrase "The Jewes [*sic*] are the men that will not be blamed for nothing" (Evans and Skinner 179).[12] On the controversial orders of Sir Charles Warren, who feared a race riot, this message was almost immediately rubbed out – before photographs could be taken. Warren stood by his orders, citing "the excited state of the population in London generally at the time[,] the strong feeling which had been excited against the Jews, and the fact that in a short time there would be a large concourse of people in the streets." He concluded, "the house was likely to be wrecked" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 183-4). Eddowes was not identified until October 3, when her common-law husband finally stepped forward. The inquest into Eddowes' death ran for three days between October 4 and 11. Like Stride, Eddowes was probably not a street prostitute, but lived, unmarried, in a stable relationship with a man and worked as a cleaner, although she had occasional problems with alcohol. The usual verdict was returned by the jury.

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[10] The phrase "double event" was taken from the Ripper letter of October 1, which is of uncertain authenticity. This has become the standard terminology in the field.

[11] Because of its location in the City of London, just yards away from the East End, this murder, uniquely, fell under the jurisdiction of the City of London Police. This caused much friction with the Metropolitan police, who investigated all the other murders.

For the rest of the month of October, the unknown criminal apparently ceased his activities. But although there were no similar murders, "the newspapers were full of reports on the hunt for the murderer and suspects" (Evans and Skinner 239). The activity of the case seemed to have ceased, but the media frenzy only increased over the course of the month. With this coverage came "a veritable flood of correspondence to the newspapers, not only hoax letters spawned in the fevered imaginations of pretender 'Rippers' but also well-meaning advice from every quarter on how to lay the killer by his heels and the inevitable false claims and rumours" (Evans and Skinner 239). This period of the case is the richest for descriptions and characterizations of suspects – both real and imagined. The lack of any new facts or events opened a space for speculation, and the press took full advantage.

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[12] Warren's report spells the word "Jewes," but an unnamed policeman noted "Juwes" in his version of events (Evans and Skinner 184). Newspaper spelling varied widely. The question of whether or not the word is a misspelling of Jews continues to be a source of debate among historians and Ripperologists.

Finally – and almost, it seemed, to the media's macabre delight – the killer struck for a fifth and (probably) final time.[13] Mary Jane Kelly was murdered on the morning of November 9, 1888, and the mutilations to her body were the most extreme of all the cases. Unlike the other murders, this one took place indoors, in Kelly's own lodging room in Dorset Street. Kelly was found on her bed, lying on her back with her legs propped apart, and with mutilations to almost every part of her body. Her throat was cut, face mutilated, flesh removed from her abdomen and thighs, breasts removed, arms, legs and genitals slashed, intestines and other organs removed or displaced, and heart missing. She was identified as a prostitute in the press, but appears to have worked the streets only occasionally. The inquest into Kelly's death ran for a single day, November 12, and returned the usual verdict.

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[13] Reports of Ripperesque murders continued to surface in the media for decades following the five 1888 murders, and spanned the world, with reports coming regularly from Britain, Australia, Europe and North America. Although it is generally agreed upon by Ripperologists and historians that the Ripper's last victim, for unknown reasons, was Kelly, several later murders were also included in the police and Home Office files on the Ripper murders. Rumbelow considers the murders of Alice McKenzie on July 17, 1889 and of an unidentified woman whose dismembered torso was discovered on September 10 of the same year, but finds no evidence that the two were connected to the Ripper case (141). Evans and Skinner agree with Rumbelow's conclusion, but also consider (and dismiss) an earlier case, the murder of Rose Mylett on December 20, 1888. The last case included in the police files is the murder of Frances Coles on February 13, 1891. As the police report states, she was "known to police as a prostitute" (Evans and Skinner 552), but although her throat was cut, there were no other mutilations made to her body. The report concludes by deferring to the authority of police surgeon Dr. Phillips, who "does not connect this with the series of previous murders which were accompanied with mutilation" (Evans and Skinner 552). Despite these reports, the press frenzy and acute public attention that accompanied the five canonical Ripper murders gradually receded in the months and years following the Autumn of Terror.

Public response to the Ripper murders during the Autumn of Terror, inflamed by the press, was quite extreme. Tom A. Cullen's book When London Walked in Terror details the public's reaction to the murder spree. He observes, "At the murder sites, themselves, in Mitre Square and in Berner Street, there was such a press of morbid sightseers that the police finally had to cordon off both areas" (129). Because of the deteriorating reputation of the area (which was already questionable), East End businesses experienced a "loss of nighttime business, for women now refused to shop after dark" (Cullen 94). Residents, he adds, "proceeded to take the law into their own hands, to organize vigilance committees and to patrol the streets of Whitechapel at night" (94).[14] On these streets, any whistle resembling a police call "brought hundreds of people running to the spot, where the opinion gained ground that Jack the Ripper was being arrested" (Cullen 154). The atmosphere in the East End was one of barely controlled chaos.

During the Ripper's crime spree, the police considered many suspects and arrested hundreds of men, very few of whom were publicly identified during the Autumn of Terror, and only some of whom are known to scholars now. Rumbelow, writing in 1975, describes what is left of the official police records of the case:

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[14] Indeed, at least once this arrangement led to a rather comical mix-up: the Vigilance Committee, not recognizing the plainclothes police on the street, spent a night watching the officers. East End locals often complained about the importation of police from other parts of the city, arguing that their lack of familiarity with the district and its inhabitants would hamper the investigation (Cullen 95).

> Anyone who is hoping for startling revelations from the Jack the Ripper file will be very disappointed with what they find – being one of the few people who has seen them, I know that they are incomplete. There are three bundles of loose-leaf papers in brown wrap-round files tied up with tapes. On the top of each file is stamped the date, 1992, which is the date when they can be thrown open to the general public . . . Two of the Ripper files contain letters from the general public offering advice on the best way to catch the Whitechapel murderer. They contain nothing of any real importance. The third file has a number of thin brown folders – some of them very thin . . . Each of these folders has the victim's, or alleged victim's, name across the top. There are very few documents in each file. (145-146)[15]

Even after the files were opened in 1992, there was little information added to the general history of the case. Evans and Skinner discovered some of the documents missing from the police file, and reproduced them in their Ultimate Companion to Jack the Ripper, in addition to the previously-sealed documents to which Rumbelow refers. They thereby publicly named police suspects Arthur Henry Mason, Dick Austen, Pierce John Robinson, Edward Knight Larkins, and James Connell for the first time (592-604). During the murders, however, the police publicly identified few suspects by name; in fact, the only suspect to have his identity disclosed by the press was John Pizer, a Jewish bootmaker with the nickname "Leather Apron" who was forced to go into hiding after his name was associated with the case. He produced an alibi and cleared his name at the inquest into Nichols' death. More recently, contemporary Ripperologists have proposed a series of seemingly ever-more-unlikely suspects somehow overlooked by police, from the artist Walter Sickert (suggested by Patricia Cornwell), to Queen Victoria's personal physician (suggested in Alan Moore's immaculately researched graphic novel From Hell). Of course, no suspect has ever been confirmed guilty.

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[15] The police file on the Whitechapel murders was officially closed in 1892. According to British law, the files were sealed for 100 years from the date of the closing, and were only made publicly available in 1992, as Rumbelow states. Unusually, Rumbelow was granted special access to the files, and was able to view them years before their official unsealing.

From Events to Texts: Theories of Representation

The sequence of historical events detailed above loosely forms the foundation of all Ripper narratives, regardless of the media in which they appear. Each iteration of the Ripper case requires representations of both the Ripper and his victims. Representation – the theory that underlies the premise and structure of this dissertation – is a controversial concept within the fields of literary theory, history and philosophy. While many scholars have posited definitions and theories of the term, the nature and characteristics of representation remain theoretically contested.[16] Christopher Prendergast, in The Triangle of Representation, observes that in the wake of large, antifoundationalist academic trends like postmodernism and deconstructionism, representation is "a concept in ruins, carpet bombed by the formidable arsenals of contemporary critical theory" (ix). As Marianne Hirsch confirms, many contemporary theorists consider the term "too open, too prevalent" (1497) to be employed in any useful way. The study of representation has grown so vast – and the use of the term so varied – that representation itself runs the risk of theoretical incoherence. And yet, Prendergast argues, all scholars writing about texts and/or history are necessarily caught within "the prison house of Representation" (ix), since they inevitably engage with texts that use language to represent other things. These scholars in turn represent those texts within their own work when they write about them. In short, much of our work as literary scholars is devoted to the cyclical process of making representation explicit, and of representing representations. In light of the complexity with which this theory is imbued, it is necessary to briefly explore the concept of representation, and consider the ways in which such a concept might be a useful analytical tool for advancing current understandings of the Ripper case.

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[16] A complete philosophical history of the concept of representation is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Briefly, theories of representation date back to ancient Greece; Aristotle's Poetics (itself a response to Plato's Republic) offers what many consider to be the first "attempt to lay down the principles and to guide the practice of poetic composition" (D.W. Lucas xv) – which includes a discussion of the nature of representation, or mimesis. For Aristotle, mimesis is the poetic act of "making or doing something which resembles something else" (Lucas 259). Aristotle explains:

> To imitate is, even from childhood, part of man's nature . . . and so is the pleasure we all take in copies of things – as we can tell from experience, for there are things that we find painful to look at in real life, misshapen animals, for example, or corpses – and yet we take pleasure in looking at the most accurate images of them. (57)

Thus, the more accurate the representation, the more successful the work of art.

As Prendergast shows, there are two opposing possible definitions for the concept of representation: to "re-present, to make present again" (4), and "substitution," or "standing in for" (5). In the former, the thing in question is itself evoked in its re-presentation; the re-presentation is therefore open to analysis on the grounds of "truth" or authenticity. There is a straightforward relationship of exact correspondence between the thing and its representation. In the latter, however, the thing in question is absent. Something else is standing in for it, and the nature of the relationship between the item and its representation is ambiguous. The question is: by what authority does one thing stand in for another in a coherent way?[17] These two definitions embody two radically different schools of theoretical thought, each of which comes with its own vast history and highly contested academic debates. The first – which Prendergast identifies as being typical of the nineteenth century – takes representation as "the idea of a fully accurate or faithful reflection of reality" (4).[18] The second, typically espoused by poststructuralists and postmodernists, holds that representations "spring from and manifest the contingencies and conflicts of psychological and social power" (xi). The question of truth is absent from this school of thought, since every representation is contingent and its meaning is unstable. As Prendergast explains, "there is no outside representation, no original condition of non-mediated, undivided being that we can recover on the far side of representation" (7). There are only layers upon layers of representation, and truth is replaced with power as the force of coherence behind representation.[19]

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[17] This question highlights the convergence of theories of representation and linguistic semiotic theory – for language is itself a complex system of representation. Literary semiotician Roland Barthes explains semiotics as the study of "the connection . . . of the signifier to the signified" (154). Like postmodern representational theorists, Barthes argues that the relationship between signified (reality) and signifier (representation) is "mobile, precarious; nothing certifies it; it is subject to the vicissitudes of time, of History" (154).

[18] Scholars of the Victorian era sometimes refer to this as the "mirror" theory of representation. See, for example, Margaret Beetham (20).

[19] Here, Prendergast is implicitly referring to Michel Foucault, who famously asserts, "We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth" (Power 93). However, it is also important to note that Foucault's formulation of power is not as clear-cut as Prendergast (and many other scholars) imply. Foucault first posits and then investigates the relationship of truth to power, but he is careful to categorize power as a potentially productive force that is not inherently repressive. He criticizes scholars who fail to "see that power relations are not something that is bad in itself, that we have to break free of. I do not think that a society can exist without power relations" (Ethics 298). Power only becomes problematic when it is abused in pursuit of "domination effects" (299) by governments and other institutions.

The crux of the debate surrounding representation, according to Prendergast, is rooted in the disparity between the two definitions of the word. In practical terms the question becomes, "how to evaluate representations (according to what criteria: true/false, good/bad, strong/weak?)" (x). In other words, how do we conceptualize the relationship between representation and "reality" (which is itself an unstable and contested theoretical concept)? Is it a relationship of true correspondence, in which representations can be evaluated for the degree to which they faithfully reproduce reality? Or is it an arbitrary relationship enforced by power, in which the representation can only be evaluated in terms of situational appropriateness and ideological effectiveness? As Elaine Scarry observes, "what is overtly at issue is the knowability of the world, and that knowability depends on its susceptibility to representation" (Resisting Representation 3). Such an all-encompassing, philosophically-dense question extends far beyond the scope of this dissertation into the history of Western thought; it is vital, however, for this dissertation to present a working theory that allows for the kind of literary analysis of textual representations that follow this Introduction. Upon what grounds can I most effectively evaluate (or analyze) textual representations of Jack the Ripper's victims?

Structurally, all representations exist within a tripartite relationship. W.J.T. Mitchell, a prominent scholar of representation, explains, "Representation is always *of* something or someone, *by* something or someone, *to* someone" (12). Representations require three elements in order to exist: a represented object, person, or idea; a person or thing to evoke the representation; and a person to receive the representation. Meaning is thus filtered through several layers of interpretation, as both the evoker and the receiver create individual meanings of the represented object.[20] Mitchell continues, "representation begins to play a double role, as a means of communication which is also a potential obstacle to it" (Mitchell 12-13). When a representation is communicated from one person to another, regardless of the media of transmission, certain elements of the original are inevitably lost. The layers of interpretation that are inherent in representations thus have the potential to filter out, to obscure, and to alter the information that the representation purportedly conveys. The potential for different meanings multiplies exponentially – although not infinitely. Just as all human beings live within social structures and ideological systems that influence their perceptions and modes of existence, the representations they create exist within those same ideological systems. In this way, ideology exerts an inexorable, structuring, and limiting influence on representations and systems (or modes) of representations. For example, many feminist scholars including Elizabeth Bronfen have observed how gendered modes of representation within the tradition of Western philosophical thought cast men as "neutral knowers" while "women are represented as the bodily counterpart to men's conceptual supremacy . . . as castrated, lacking, and incomplete" (38). These types of representation thus participate in and perpetuate patriarchal ideology by obscuring women's full agency and subjectivity.

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[20] This formulation further highlights the need for historically-specific analysis, since one element of representation cannot be examined without reference to the other two. One cannot study, for example, the representations of Jack the Ripper in a London newspaper without also examining the newspaper itself, its writers, its readership, its class affiliations and its political orientation.

And even texts that offer representations that challenge this ideology (counterrepresentations) must position themselves in relation to it.

Representations within texts are influenced and structured by the same ideological forces that shape the larger social world. Prendergast argues,

> In the case of literature, representations are best seen as forces at work in a cultural force field; in that sense, they are irreducibly bound up with power. Literary fictions do not simply portray or reflect the world. They elicit, precisely by way of their fictional modes of representation, *attitudes* to the world that enable – or disable – forms of understanding. This is one of the most important things that literature does. (15)

In other words, literary representations – and, I would argue, textual representations in general – are products of the cultures in which they are written, and are thus both creations of and actors in the ideologies that shape those cultures.[21] This dissertation engages in the analysis of a wide range of textual materials: historical documents, newspapers and other periodicals, illustrations, pulp fiction publications, and a novel. Each of these materials belongs to its own distinct genre and sub-genre, with its own conventions, narrative practices, publishing histories, social and cultural contexts, and scholarly disciplines – all of which are vital to the way each text makes its meaning. The distinction between the overtly fictional, or more complicatedly, "fictionalized" texts and the texts purporting to be factual representations of reality is particularly important, as it changes the way the texts were, and are, read and received.[22] My critical engagement with these diverse materials in a single dissertation should not be considered an incautious conflating of each genre's distinct characteristics; rather, while acknowledging the important differences between each type of text, it is a deliberate attempt to track representational practices across a wide variety of publications. Each representation is necessarily read and analyzed within the social and cultural contexts from which it is drawn.

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[21] The terms "literary" and "textual" should not be conflated; rather, literary representation is a sub-type of the larger field of textual representation, which also includes non-fiction books, newspapers, and many other types of printed material.

Paul B. Armstrong, in his book Conflicting Readings: Variety and Validity in Interpretation, adds that not just representations – but the interpretation *of* those representations – is necessarily ideological. He writes, "Interpretation can be regarded as a political activity . . . because ways of understanding and representing the world are deployments of power or contestations of authority" (134). He concludes, "The relation of interpreter to text is a relation of power, which can be constituted in different ways for different purposes" (137). Armstrong's observations are a reminder of my own implication in the inherently ideological practice of meaning-making. While I analyze a series of Victorian representations of the Ripper case and consider the ways in which each makes meaning of the murders, I also suggest alternate representations and meanings, thereby implicating myself in the representational process that always entails potential obfuscation and misrepresentation. As Judith Walkowitz reminds us, "to the extent that we are trying to derive meaning from the Ripper murders, we are engaged in an intellectual task similar to our Victorian predecessors" ("Myth" 546).[23] Just as the Victorian writers studied in this dissertation were embedded in the ideological web of their own society, so am I embedded in mine. Neither they nor I can claim neutrality.

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[22] I discuss this further in Chapter Two.

While current theories of representation focus almost exclusively on Prendergast's second definition of the term, which posits representation as an ideologically driven substitution as opposed to an uncomplicated reflection of reality, Hirsch argues that the term itself "still implies a relation of at least desired fidelity to an original and thus still suffers from a burden of accuracy" (1497). Indeed, the two definitions of representation continue to influence each other, and are thus not as divergent as they first seem. As Prendergast writes,

> If master representations are to be contested by means of counterrepresentations, are we not committed at some point in all this to the principle of the truth values of representation? If not, in the name of what do we speak? The question of truth remains obstinately before us. In recent critical theory, this question has suffered considerable neglect, more or less liquidated in the relativities of antifoundationalism. But this . . . does not preclude the possibility that some forms of representation are especially well equipped to deal with the category of truth, because, if that were not the case, it is unclear how we could even continue talking coherently about representation at all. (14)

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[23] Many feminist scholars have encountered this difficulty; Elizabeth Bronfen, for example, notes that "narrative representations of death (whether visual or textual) serve to show that any 'voyeur' is always also implicated in the field of vision" (54).

This is the crucial outcome of Prendergast's argument: that truth is a necessary – although not unproblematic – element of representation. The theoretical tradition of dualistic conceptions of representation (that is, that representation is either an uncomplicated reflection of truth, or entirely divorced from the possibility of truth) has obscured the more complex actuality, in which the relationship between representation and reality requires a basis of truth, while simultaneously proscribing the possibility of ever accessing that truth completely.

My decision to employ representation as the theoretical grounding for this study is a carefully considered one. Unlike more radically postmodern, parallel theories like "mediation," which Hirsch defines as more "dynamic . . . transactive and multiply relational" (1497), representation contains within its very definition a perhaps irresolvable paradox: the impossibility of perfect correspondence between a thing and its representation, coupled with the necessary belief in the coherence of that correspondence. Thus, at the heart of every study of specific examples or modes of representation (of which this dissertation is but one example among many), lies the implicit question of representation itself. While it strives to faithfully re-present reality (as per Prendergast's first definition), a representation is only ever an imperfect substitution for that reality (as his second definition makes clear). Instead of considering the inherent paradox of representation to be a theoretical weakness or drawback, this dissertation accepts it as a methodological challenge, and as a site for productive inquiry – in fact, it is precisely this paradox that opens up the already vast field of Ripper scholarship to innovation.

In my examination of textual representations of Jack the Ripper's victims (and of women's engagement with the case more generally), I assert throughout that there *is* an objective, historical truth that is being represented in each text in various ways – but that the totality of that truth is impossible to access, since it exists only in necessarily incomplete representations. While each text I examine makes claims to truthful representation in different ways (according to its publication type, genre, and other variables), none can enact the true "re-presentation" of the historical actions of either Jack the Ripper or the women he killed. Rather, each participates in the ideological construction of narratives and representations, thereby inevitably altering the historical "truth" of the event in the process. Further, the modes of representation associated with the Ripper case tend to enforce tautological signification; in other words, the victims' representations echo back, telling us only what we already "know" about Victorian prostitutes. In the words of Amanda Anderson, these representations "preclude the possibility of dialogic reciprocity" (141) by not attempting to engage with "reality," but instead reinforcing dominant ways of knowing and interpreting the world. My goal here is not to prove any text "wrong," or to arrive at my own "true" representation of the Ripper's victims; the reality of these women's lives is lost to history, and such a representation is not possible. Instead, I argue along with Prendergast that my role as a scholar is to "proliferate and multiply representations, to construct a diversified agon of representations, dominated by no single voice but in which multiple voices speak and clash" (13). No single representation can hope to capture the "truth" of an event accurately, since every representation is incomplete, and shaped by ideological influences. At the intersection of multiple representations, however, that elusive truth looms large. The Ripper case tends to act as a lightning rod for controversial issues of gender and class; representations of the case are thus saturated with ideological arguments couched in embedded truth claims that only obscure the more complex "reality" of the case. By examining the Ripper case through multiple representations (and even offering my own alternate representations), this dissertation works to disassociate those representations from ideological truth claims – and thereby, paradoxically, to get closer to the "truth" than a single representation could.

Representing the "Great Social Evil"

The representations of Jack the Ripper and his victims that emerged during the Autumn of Terror in 1888 and the weeks, months, and years that followed, [24] grew out of a larger cultural concern with class and gender that had already engaged the Victorian populace for decades as a subject of ongoing public debate. One facet of this debate was articulated through questions about the nature of women, their proper roles in society, and the causes of female deviance that resulted in prostitution – the so-called "Great Social Evil." As Linda Mahood contends, "Attempts to define the 'prostitute' were not just technical, but deeply political" (12). Indeed, the categorization of women as "prostitutes" during the Victorian era was imprecise at best; representations of prostitutes and prostitution were therefore highly contested. Mahood observes that any of the following women might have been categorized as prostitutes at various times: "mill-girls," women who were "unescorted by men," women who "congregated on the streets," "unmarried mothers," and indeed "any woman found in the streets who could not give a satisfactory account of how she earned her living" (70). All of these markers of female deviance depend upon women's relations to men and their economic status – a clear indication of the interconnectedness of class and gender that exists at the site of the prostitute. A woman's behavior in public and the degree of femininity of her appearance further influenced her categorization (71). The designation of women as prostitutes was thus highly subjective, and the prostitute as a cultural trope was open to a multitude of meanings and interpretations.

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[24] Although this dissertation examines textual representations that appeared prior to the year 1914, the Ripper has remained a constant presence in popular culture, and an examination of the evolving representations associated with his character in the post-war years could prove highly worthwhile.

The public debate surrounding both the provenance and the deterrence of prostitution developed into something of a binary between biological and social arguments. One side of this debate about deviant female sexuality took an essentialist approach: prostitutes are women who fall into deviant sexual behavior simply because it is their nature to do so.[25] Proponents of this construction adopted the language of Darwin's theory of natural selection following the publication of The Origin of Species in 1859, and positioned the prostitute within a schematic of human evolution and biological determinism. Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, for example, argued in 1893 that the potential for deviant behavior is inherent in female nature, since “atavistically she is nearer to her origin than the male, and ought consequently to abound more in anomalies” (20). Thus, prostitutes are simply the most extreme example of female nature. Lombroso and Ferrero continue, asserting that

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[25] My thanks to Dr. Susan Hamilton for her assistance with this section.

> women have many traits in common with children; that their moral sense is deficient; that they are revengeful, jealous, inclined to vengeances of a refined cruelty. In ordinary cases these defects are neutralised by piety, maternity, want of passion. . . . [But] when piety and maternal sentiments are wanting, and in their place are strong passions and intensely erotic tendencies, much muscular strength and a superior intelligence for the conception and execution of evil, it is clear that the innocuous semi-criminal present in the normal woman must be transformed into a born criminal more terrible than any man. (21)

The same attributes that define prostitutes are present in all women – they are just more dominant in some than in others. Thus all women are implicated in the moral crimes of the prostitute, whether or not they actively engage in prostitution. Further, the prevention of prostitution is not possible, since it is an inherent element of all womankind.

The theory of prostitution articulated by Lombroso and Ferrero compliments the concomitant “double standard model” (Mahood 4) of human sexuality that circulated throughout the Victorian era. As Mahood explains, “the ideology of the double standard model suggests that the high standard of premarital chastity placed on middle-class couples in the nineteenth century meant that men were forced to resort to 'prostitutes' in order to preserve the virtue of women of their own class" (4). Again, this model grew out of an essentialist, social Darwinist framework: men's inherently virile sexuality necessitated regular sexual activity, but the virtuous women they were expected to court and marry were off limits for sexual approach. A prostitute "class" of women evolved to service this unmet male need. Thus middle- and upper-class women were protected from the true degradation of their feminine nature, and could remain wholly chaste and pure of sexual thought.[26]

However, a second framework for representing the prostitute arose in opposition to the first, as a liberal corrective to biological explanations for prostitution. Instead of positing the deviant behavior of the prostitute as a biologically-determined inevitability – and thus representing the prostitute, and indeed all women, as inherently immoral – this framework locates the problem of prostitution within the class system and social structures that trapped these women in lives of poverty and despair. As W.R. Greg famously argued in the Westminster Review, prostitutes are "clearly the victims of circumstances; and therefore must on all hands be allowed to be objects of the most unalloyed compassion" (243). Greg adds that far from having inherently deviant natures, "Those feelings which coarse and licentious minds are so ready to attribute to girls, are almost invariably *consequences*" (242) of their destitution. In short, it is the social and economic conditions in which these women live that force them into lives of prostitution. They must not therefore be blamed for their situations, but offered assistance in overcoming them.[27] Greg decries any contradiction of this fact as "dishonest misrepresentation" (238), inadvertently highlighting the centrality of representation to the cultural problem of prostitution. Whatever the actual lives of prostitutes were like (or whatever the "truth" behind the rhetoric), the battle for dominance in public representation speaks to the importance of the prostitute as a Victorian cultural touchstone for questions of gender and class.[28]

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[26] This double standard was not new in the Victorian era; as early as the thirteenth century Thomas Aquinas called prostitution, "a necessary if distasteful function," that allowed "young men of all classes to assert their masculinity and relieve their sexual needs while at the same time keeping them from consorting with respectable wives and daughters" (qtd. in Richards 129, 117).

Judith Walkowitz's seminal book City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London examines the ways in which these preexisting debates about gender, class, and prostitution shaped the emerging story of the Ripper's crimes (along with other prominent cultural events) as it was articulated in the London press. Walkowitz observes how the Ripper narrative evolved out of "a medley of Victorian cultural products – melodrama, the late-Victorian male Gothic, the medical literature of psychopathology – that with different emphases articulated the fears and antagonisms provoked by existing and contested gender, class, and ethnic relations" (13). Her historical research documents the resulting social effects as news of the crimes permeated the city. Walkowitz describes her project as examining "the cultural dynamics and social struggles that . . . originally produced Jack the Ripper in 1888 as a mythic story of sexual danger" (2). She specifically traces class and gender as constitutive elements of, and sites of tension within, the Ripper story. Her argument is that this narrative was used to "manage anxieties unleashed by the murders" (191). The victims' public identification as prostitutes meant that "they possessed dangerous sexual knowledge" (218) that distanced them from the chaste purity of idealized femininity. Their trade further required that they transgress their gender by abandoning domesticity and "asserting themselves in the public male domain" (218) of commerce, while the poverty that drove them to that trade illustrated the inequities of the class system as it stood. The prostitute figure thus embodied longstanding cultural anxieties about gender and class – two vital identity categories in late-Victorian society. Her very existence called the stability and legitimacy of those two foundational identity categories into question. The resultant incoherence of the prostitute body was amplified by the gruesome mutilations perpetrated upon the bodies of the Ripper's victims. Walkowitz concludes that the victims became "grotesque body fragments, replete with gaps, orifices, missing body portions, emblematic of female vice and the teeming multitudes of the East End" (City 198). In short, the cultural debates about gender, class, crime and female deviance were all forcibly "embodied" by the women killed by the Ripper when he inscribed his mutilations upon them.

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[27] And indeed, there was a lively philanthropic movement comprised of associations such as the London Society for the Protection of Young Girls and the Friendless Girls' Association. These organizations were generally run by middle-class moral reformers, and provided "rescue homes" for "fallen" girls women wishing to leave prostitution (Walkowitz Prostitution 16), engaged in community outreach work, and undertook political lobbying (40). Walkowitz documents the history, activities, and variable success of this movement in her book Prostitution and Victorian Society.

[28] Greg concludes his article with a call for increased governmental control of prostitution. He writes, "We would recommend the appointment of a special department connected with the Board of Health, whose duty it should be – with due safeguard against the abuse of their powers – to take all needful and feasible measures to prevent the spread of syphilitic infection" (266). Greg's article was "instrumental in generating an intellectual climate sympathetic to regulation" (Walkowitz Prostitution 42). As Walkowitz documents in Prostitution and Victorian Society, the Contagious Diseases Acts (passed in 1864, 1866, and 1869) attempted to regulate prostitution through mandatory vaginal examinations of registered or suspected prostitutes. It was hoped that such regulation would prevent the spread of venereal diseases in the military. In 1869, the feminist Ladies' National Association formed to agitate for the repeal of the acts. Led by Josephine Butler, the Association argued "that the acts not only deprived women of their constitutional rights and forced them to submit to a degrading internal examination, but they officially sanctioned male vice" (2). Largely due to the success of the LNA's lobbying efforts, the acts were repealed in 1886.

Given the richness of Walkowitz's historical analysis, any study of late-Victorian prostitution must acknowledge its indebtedness to her work. This dissertation necessarily builds upon the solid groundwork of historical detail and cultural analysis laid out in City of Dreadful Delight. Walkowitz's book is comprehensive; still, there is more to be said about the Ripper crisis than can possibly be contained within a single text. My focus here is on representations of Jack the Ripper's victims as they appear in a variety of different types of texts. As she concludes her book, Walkowitz writes,

> This book has not resolved the moral and political dilemmas related to representation, violence, and commercialized sex. It has returned to a formative moment in the production of feminist politics and of popular narratives of sexual danger. It has tried to show how late-Victorian sexual politics and narratives existed in dynamic relation to each other, both articulating and managing, in different ways, challenges to class, gender, and ethnic relations. (243-244)

As she herself acknowledges, the Ripper case warrants further investigation, specifically in the areas of representation, violence, and commercial sex. In this dissertation, I engage with the moral and political "dilemmas" of representation to which Walkowitz alludes, by interrogating the methods and systems of representation that produced varying accounts of the Ripper's victims. While I am guided in this task by Walkowitz's findings, my own study's more specific focus on the representational practices employed in the period *following* the Ripper crisis allows me to more fully explore the ways representations of the victims signify, the ways they evolve, and the "moral and political" implications of these significations.

The dominant cultural narrative of the Ripper case, and the representations of the murdered women within that narrative, gradually coalesced and evolved in the period following the murders. Since, as Walkowitz observes, "women were significantly marginalized from the public telling of the story" (192), the narrative representations of the Ripper case that came to dominate public discourse were almost entirely the inventions of professional men. Walkowitz famously argues that there arose out of the events of the Ripper case "a mythic story of sexual danger" (City 2). She elaborates,

> Over the past hundred years, the Ripper murders have achieved the status of a modern myth of male violence against women, a story whose details have become vague and generalized, but whose 'moral' message is clear: the city is a dangerous place for women, when they transgress the narrow boundaries of home and hearth and dare to enter public space. ("Myth" 544)

In other words, the cultural narrative or "modern myth" of the Ripper's crimes has developed as a warning for women: if they transgress the margins of traditional, domestic femininity, they risk incurring the ferocious punishment meted out by the Ripper. Thus the Ripper narrative is one means of controlling potentially subversive female behavior; representations of the victims therefore depict the women, in the words of Jennifer Doyle, "as something to be controlled with the knife" (28). This is the mode of representation implicitly accepted as natural and true in dominant cultural narratives of the case.

Several critics have observed the ongoing social significance of the Ripper cultural narrative or "myth" identified by Walkowitz. Sandra McNeill argues that contemporary media reports about women killed by men still often make the "assumption that these events constitute a 'tragedy' in which the man, the killer, plays the role of *tragic hero*" (178) who vanquishes unruly women to their appropriate place – the passivity of the grave. Women, then, are represented as transgressors who are justly punished. Karen Kurt Teal refers to the prevalence of this myth in film versions of the Ripper narrative as "toxic repetition" (n.p.), and characterizes it as "a dangerous, carefully-administered, sinister corrective" (n.p.). The Ripper's crimes unquestionably provoked fear in London women during the Autumn of Terror, but the power of the dominant cultural narrative about his crimes persists to the present day, and the representational practices employed when writing about his victims continues to pervade crime writing in the early twenty-first century.

Even within the field of Ripperology, it is standard practice – indeed, it is nearly a generic requirement – to focus principally on describing and identifying the Ripper, secondarily on explaining his motives and methods, and only reluctantly on his victims. It is not, after all, Ripperology's project to dismantle its own foundational narratives, but rather to carry them out. Feminist scholar Deborah Cameron (who is not herself a Ripperologist), goes so far as to argue that because of the absence of female subjectivity, "misogyny is rife" (185) in Ripperology. As Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox Keller, and Sally Shuttleworth observe in their introduction to Body/Politics: Women and the Discourses of Science, "Feminist analyses of language or knowledge . . . assume that the ways in which inquiries are conducted will shape a perceived field of knowledge just as they are shaped by the society which gives rise to them" (7). It is my argument that the ways in which inquiries are conventionally conducted in the field of Ripperology have shaped the field into a male-dominated, results-oriented arena from which women's perspectives are notably absent.[29] Feminist scholars Jane Caputi, and Deborah Cameron and Elizabeth Fraser (none of whom identify as Ripperologists) argued in the 1980s that the Ripper case, as a significant moment of cultural crisis in the Victorian era, must be re-examined with closer attention paid to power imbalances and gender ideologies. Caputi argues that the Ripper's crimes must be read as representative of the larger culture's patriarchal control of women. The murders, for her, are physical manifestations of the patriarchal rule of force that is usually invisible in its methodology and effect; Caputi concludes that this rule of force is still largely intact in the present day. Cameron and Fraser agree, adding that murder and rape are natural occurrences in a patriarchal society, where women's lives are incidental and their bodies are valuable only as sexual objects for men's disposal. These feminist scholars imply that the representational practices employed in the Ripper case are symptomatic of larger cultural issues related to gender, violence and power.

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[29] I want to stress that it is not my argument that Ripperology has not engaged with important issues or undertaken valuable research. On the contrary, many Ripperologists are rigorous in their methods and produce insightful work that sheds great light on the historical and social contexts of the crimes.

The remarkable degree of public interest in the Ripper case, which arose in the early days of the Autumn of Terror and persists even now (although in a different register), suggests that there is something about this narrative and its modes of representation that remains culturally significant. Armstrong argues that a considerable factor in the cultural longevity of texts is "use-value." He writes that the most important element that determines a text's longevity is found in "qualities traceable to the work that make it more or less able to satisfy various aims, desires, and needs" (120). "Use-value," he adds, "is a measurement of something's ability to do something – of a text's capacity to perform certain valued functions" (120). In other words, texts only remain valuable as long as they can be put to culturally useful work. As Walkowitz has shown, the "use-value" of the Ripper case during the late-Victorian era was related to the control and punishment of women. And as Caputi, Cameron and Fraser, McNeill, and Teal argue, this "use-value" persists in present-day articulations of the case, performed through modes of representation that depict women as passive, featureless, victim-objects. As Walkowitz herself suggests, the next step for feminist scholars of the Ripper crisis is to work with the complex cultural meanings of the case in order to "shape representation" (243) – a task for a literary scholar, not an historian. This study of the representations of victims and women in the Ripper case is thus both overdue within the field of Ripper Studies and relevant to contemporary gender studies.

Representing Women: A Sampling of Ripper Texts

This dissertation begins with a chapter about the lives of the women Jack the Ripper murdered. Using fragments of documentary evidence and historical information compiled from a variety of sources, Chapter One takes its cue from Walkowitz and works to "shape" the representations of the Ripper's victims by retelling the story from these women's perspectives. In this chapter, the "Ripper" story belongs not to the murderer, but to the five women he killed.[30] It is my attempt to "proliferate and multiply representations" (Prendergast 13) of the women, to challenge the mode of representation (implicitly accepted as the natural and true telling of the Ripper case) that casts the Ripper as the heroic centre of the story. Chapter Two examines the representations of these women in a cross-sampling of the Victorian press. As I have already alluded, the Ripper case ignited a firestorm of press interest, and the resultant coverage offers fascinating insight into the forces at play in the first cultural articulations of the Ripper case. Chapter Three turns to the imaginative representations of the victims found in several "pulp" fictionalizations of the case that were published in the months and years following the crimes. This chapter includes a discussion of the first fictional text to pit a female detective against the criminal, Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer (1912). Finally, Chapter Four examines the first complete novelization of the Ripper case, The Lodger (1913), by Marie Belloc Lowndes.[31] Along with Jack the Ripper, Woman Killer, this novel signals a marked departure from earlier Ripper narratives in its depiction of women as powerful agents. Lowndes highlights the lack of representation of victims' voices in earlier Ripper narratives, and shows how their conspicuous absence – and the absence of women from the case more generally – precludes the possibility of the case ever being solved. Ultimately, The Lodger provides a strongly voiced counterpoint to the narratives that precede it, arguing for increased female representation in the case, and making the provocative suggestion that the problem of male violence cannot be solved within the confines of male-dominated systems of knowledge. The course of the dissertation, then, articulates a progression in women's representational engagement with the Ripper case. The trend that emerges through a series of discrete cultural moments illustrates "how women have been able to enter discourses from which they have been initially excluded," and how women can begin to move "from objects of another's discourse to women as subjects of their own" (Poovey 29).

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[30] Film scholar Karen Kurt Teal suggested that a similar strategy could be fruitful for film directors in her discussion of Ripper film treatments at the Fourth Biennial U.S. Conference on Jack the Ripper (2006). In fact, she proposed a film script based upon women's experiences of the crimes. Teal argued:

> One might say [the narrative] must be told from a man's point of view because men were in charge. But who actually saw the Ripper? The female victims. Who 'saw' the Ripper in strangers in the street and shadows in their bedrooms? Millions of other women. If women were indeed the only people who actually saw the real Ripper and the only people who feared his attacks, couldn't the story be told from a woman's point of view? Isn't this a woman's story? (n.p.)

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[31] Lowndes' novel should not be confused with Stewart P. Evans and Paul Gainey's book of the same title (they do not credit her with coining the phrase), which is a standard, Ripperological investigation that identifies the murderer as an American known as the "Littlechild Suspect."

Chapter One

Retelling the Story: Meet Jack's Victims

"In all countries the harlot is the same. All nationalities use the same incitements. In all parts of the world I have found it so."

–Anonymous, My Secret Life (1888?) 6.1106

Introduction

Judith Walkowitz's influential book City of Dreadful Delight argues that the dominant Victorian cultural articulation of the Jack the Ripper narrative is a "mythic story of sexual danger" (2), one that functioned as a "cautionary tale for women" (3) about the dangers of illicit sexual activity. In this view, the murders became a morality tale played out on the bodies of prostitutes: when women transgressed their socially prescribed gender and sex roles – for example, by existing outside of the female domestic realm, by exhibiting aggressive behaviour, by drinking alcohol to excess, or by engaging in the sexually-deviant act of prostitution – they risked the ferocious punishment meted out by the Ripper. The cultural narrative underpinning the manifest story of Jack the Ripper is one of female transgression of social norms, just (if gruesome) punishment, and the resultant reestablishment and reinforcement of the social status quo. Despite this underlying cultural tendency to frame the Ripper narrative in terms of female transgression and justified punishment, Walkowitz acknowledges that the Ripper story "never emerged as a unified, stable narrative"

(201-202) within Victorian culture.[32] She repeatedly stresses that "women were significantly marginalized from the public telling of the story" (192). This exclusion of women's voices, perspectives, and interests engaged with a larger cultural narrative of sexual violence against women to represent the Ripper's victims as undifferentiated, "unsympathetic objects of pity" (201).

The prostitute, Walkowitz argues, had a very specific cultural image, and was represented by Victorian dominant culture "as putrid body, as sewer, as syphilitic carrier, as corpse" (199). As Lynda Nead points out, throughout the Victorian era, "prostitution was defined as the most threatening manifestation of moral degeneration and was regarded as a meta-system that could erode and destroy the nation" (93-4). Middle-class observers of the Ripper case, therefore, were "overwhelmed by feelings of fear and loathing towards the spectacle of the victims themselves" (Walkowitz 201), since they embodied the cultural image of the deviant prostitute. The cultural linking of the prostitute to the health of the nation itself explains (at least in part) the huge public uproar surrounding the murders. If the prostitute represented a strand of moral degeneration that had the power to destroy the nation, then the stakes in the struggle to control representations of her were great indeed.[33] And yet, there is a certain irony in ascribing prostitutes of this measure of power. In reality, most had almost none at all. In 1888, "the services of a destitute prostitute . . . could be had for 2 or 3 pence or a stale loaf of bread. 3 pence was the going rate as that was the price of a large glass of gin" ("Mary Ann Nichols: Last Addresses" para 12). Most women working as prostitutes were barely able to survive in the slums of London, and almost all were afflicted by disease and malnutrition. The disparity between the ostensible cultural power of London prostitutes and their actual lives was remarkable.[34]

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[32] Chapters Two, Three and Four of this dissertation examine early articulations of the Ripper case, observing the beginnings of the evolution of the cultural narrative through several genres and specific historical moments.

[33] Elaine Showalter's book Sexual Anarchy offers a further exploration of the perceived cultural power of the prostitute. She argues that the criminal dissection and resultant public display of the Ripper victims, with their deviantly-sexual prostitute bodies, is related to Victorian anxieties about non-conformist women in general. If these bodies could be closely observed by (male) medical science, perhaps their deviance, which threatened the power of the patriarchal elite, could be controlled or cured.

This dissertation, as I stated in the introductory chapter, is concerned with the provenance and early evolution of representations of the women victims in the cultural narrative of the Ripper, and women's subsequent engagement with that narrative. The extensive research that has been done by Ripperologists on possible identities of the murderer, his motives, his movements, and the nature of his criminality has not translated into similar research on his victims. This chapter, specifically, is an attempt to redress that imbalance, to provide a different perspective on the Ripper case through alternative representations of his victims. What might the Ripper narrative look like if it were told from the perspectives of his victims? What if a narrative took their lives and experiences as its primary source of information? How might the centrality of these women's stories then change the resultant field of representation, and challenge the dominant Ripper myth? This chapter addresses these questions by retelling the life story of each victim, and placing each woman in a representational field that is consciously feminist in nature. The bulk of this chapter is comprised of biographies of Annie Chapman, Catherine Eddowes, Mary Jane Kelly, Mary Ann Nichols, and Elizabeth Stride. I offer these biographies in alphabetical order, instead of the usual order in which the victims were killed. This is a deliberate attempt to discourage the notion that each woman's murder was the primary structuring event of her life.

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[34] I am aware of Walkowitz's claim, in her book Prostitution and Victorian Society, that women living as prostitutes enjoyed a measure of autonomy and control over their own lives that their middle-class sisters lacked (31). However, the freedoms to move about the city at their own volition and drink in public, for example, seem minor when one takes into account the poverty, near-starvation, disease, police harassment, and physical abuse most prostitutes endured.

The stories that follow were not told at the time of the murders, but virtually all the information I use would have been available to reporters and other writers and pundits – those responsible for creating Ripper narratives – in 1888. Despite the historical distance, however, there is still extant historical information upon which to build. The sensational nature of the murders brought about unusual levels of both media and official interest which in turn preserved archival information that might otherwise have disappeared. While the death of each woman is exhaustively documented, information about each woman's life before her fatal encounter with the Ripper is slight. However, as we shall see, the historical information that *does* exist suggests that grouping these women together under the banner of "Jack the Ripper's Victims" (as almost all Ripperological texts inevitably do and indeed as I therefore do in this study) obscures significant and instructive differences between them. It is not "true," as the anonymous (and highly experienced) author of the late-Victorian pornographic memoir My Secret Life declares, that "in all countries the harlot is the same" (6.1106).[35] In fact, by placing each victim within a representational framework that takes her experience as central, we can see that each "harlot" is very much her own woman, necessarily exceeding the boundaries of that label.

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[35] My Secret Life draws upon preexisting modes for representing the prostitute that are intimately connected to ideologies of sex and class. See p. 26 of this dissertation for more detailed information.

These biographies draw upon historical information from a variety of sources. I am not an historian, and the information to which I refer in this chapter has been uncovered by other scholars who have engaged in primary historical research in this field. Stewart P. Evans and Keith Skinner's book The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Companion offers little information about the victims prior to their deaths, but its coverage of each woman's death is exceptionally complete. Stephen P. Ryder's Ripper Studies website Casebook.org offers historical summaries and digital reproductions of many original documents related to the Ripper case, including several relating to the women's lives prior to their involvement with the Ripper. And finally, Neal Shelden's texts Jack the Ripper and his Victims, Annie Chapman: Jack the Ripper Victim, and Catherine Eddowes: Jack the Ripper Victim provide numerous, significant historical details that are not available elsewhere.[36]

Shelden is a Ripperologist, and his texts pose something of a problem for this dissertation. As I state in the Introduction, I prefer to rely on Ripper Studies texts for historical information, since they display the academic rigor necessary for inclusion in a dissertation of this nature. However, Shelden's three slight volumes are the only studies in existence – in Ripperology or Ripper Studies – devoted primarily to the victims.[37] As such, they contain vital historical information that is not available elsewhere. For example, Shelden interviewed descendents of the Ripper's victims who have otherwise refused to participate in Ripper research, and obtained family documents and stories that provide insight into the lives of the murdered women.[38] However, as a Ripperologist, Shelden is not an academic scholar. He takes an amateur, historical interest in the Ripper, and his texts lack necessary academic apparatuses such as complete citations, page references, and grammatical editing. He tends to write in incomplete sentences, sometimes leaving his points open to misinterpretation. He also occasionally makes assertions, such as "[Nichols'] always kept herself very clean and tidy" (JRV 8), without providing a source for the information. However, his attention to historical accuracy is quite acute; indeed, he corrects several factual errors that have appeared in other, more widely read Ripper texts.[39] For my own analyses, I must rely heavily on the unique historical information Shelden has obtained, simply because his texts are unique. Thus, while I acknowledge the limitations of Shelden's work and urge further historical research to confirm his findings, I am forced to rely upon his texts for the purposes of this dissertation, and am confident in his historical accuracy.

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[36] Shelden's texts will hereafter be abbreviated as follows: JRV, AC, and CE.

[37] They are also nearly impossible to obtain. I was unable to find them in any library or inter-library loan service, specialized book seller, internet auction market, or online Ripper discussion board. Finally, I contacted Shelden himself, and he kindly agreed to send me photocopies of his own texts,

The historical information upon which this chapter is based, regardless of the historian who uncovered and published it, is drawn from a variety of sources. These include, but are not limited to, inquest transcripts, police files, census data, workhouse and infirmary documents, court records, cemetery records, family

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since even he did not know how I could obtain my own copies. The information his books contain is thus available in only an extremely limited way.

[38] See, for example, AC f.p. 1.

[39] See, for example, AC 35-36.

photographs, government records, church records, newspaper files, military documents, and Home Office records.[40] I have termed these sources "documentary evidence," but also recognize that none of them can be considered to be objective in their reporting of events. Each of these sources is composed of different types of narratives, and each narrative functions within its own set of regulations and representative practices. While all the information that appears in this chapter is thus in circulation in various arenas, it has never been drawn together in the way in appears here. In fact, information about the lives of the Ripper's victims mostly appears in piecemeal fragments scattered throughout larger works. This scattered approach implicitly contributes to their marginalization within the Ripper narrative: they are incidental, not central, to the story. For example, the information about the victims that appears on Casebook.org is fragmented into a series of discrete links that are separate from the main body of the Ripper story. Even Shelden's texts participate in this fragmentation. Although his titles suggest that the books focus on a single victim, his book Catherine Eddowes devotes only one chapter to Catherine; other chapters, somewhat confusingly, are unrelated. One is entitled "The People That Knew Mary Jane Kelly." Another returns to true Ripperological form and considers a suspect named Severin Klosowski as the murderer. While this illustrates one of the organizational difficulties with Shelden's work, it also speaks to the need for biographical narratives of the victims in which they are allowed to assume a central role.

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[40] The Home Office is the British government department responsible for law and order, and other internal affairs.

The biographical narratives that follow are not new in the information they present; rather, they offer a new representational model for understanding the Ripper case. As historian Hayden White observes, "So natural is the impulse to narrate, so inevitable is the form of narrative for any report of the way things really happened, that narrativity could appear problematical only in a culture in which it was absent" ("Value" 1). Paul B. Armstrong agrees, arguing that "All historical analyses are narrations governed by a prefigurative understanding of what the relevant elements are and how they fit together in the field of study" (90). He concludes, "Historians must arrange evidence in patterns that are coherent and acceptable to others, [and] this is an imaginative act of consistency building" (102). Here, then, is my "imaginative act": an avowedly feminist creation of a biography for each of the victims of Jack the Ripper that places each woman firmly at the centre of her own life story.[41]

That Fateful Assent: Annie Chapman

Historians have not been able to pinpoint the exact date of Annie Chapman's birth, but it was likely in September of either 1840 or 1841, in London. Annie was born at least six months prior to her parents' marriage (AC 11), which would have

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[41] For purposes of clarity, the following table explains the order in which I present the biographies:

Table 1: The Order of the Victims

Chronological order	Date of death	Order in this dissertation
Mary Ann Nichols	31 August, 1888	4
Annie Chapman	8 September, 1888	1
Elizabeth Stride	30 September, 1888	5
Catherine Eddowes	30 September, 1888	2
Mary Jane Kelly	9 November, 1888	3

been a serious breach of Victorian social conventions governing sexual behaviour for a middle-class family, but was unremarkable in Annie's working-class community.[42] Shelden records her birth name as Annie Eliza Smith (AC 11); Casebook.org suggests Eliza Anne Smith ("Annie Chapman" para 1). Her father, George Smith, was a private with the Second Regiment of Life Guards, and became a valet when he retired from service; her mother, Ruth Chapman, gave birth to three or four more children in the following years, two girls and at least one boy. The early life of the family appears to have been quite stable and happy. Shelden even argues that "it is reasonable to assume that all the children would have received a good standard of education" (AC 12). It was not until after George's death sometime between 1862 and 1864 that they fell upon hard times; the death of the family's sole financial supporter had disastrous implications for all the family members. Shelden discovered the widowed Ruth Chapman's name listed as a resident in a poor rate book in Knightsbridge after her husband's death.[43] Without financial support from a gainfully employed man, the family faced severe financial hardship. There appears to be no evidence of Annie's activities during this period, but in keeping with her class she likely undertook some form of domestic or factory work to earn money to help support her family.

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[42] This disjunction highlights the relativity and class-based nature of Victorian sexual standards.

[43] The Poor Law Commissioners' Report of 1834 defines a poor book as:

> a book to be kept in every city, corporate town, and parish, containing the names of the householders and of the impotent poor, and that yearly in Whitsun week the head officers of towns, and the minister and churchwardens in every parish in the country, shall appoint two persons to be collectors of alms for the relief of the poor, which collectors shall, the next or following Sunday at church, gently ask every man and woman what they of their charity will give weekly towards the relief of the poor, and write the same in the book and distribute what they collect weekly to the same poor and impotent persons, after such sort that the more impotent may have the more help, and such as can get part of their living the less, and by the direction of the collectors be put on such labour as they be able to do; but none to go or sit openly begging, upon pain limited in the above statutes. (7)

In May, 1869, when she was in her late twenties, Annie married John Chapman, a well-employed coachman and a relative of her mother. (The degree of relation is uncertain.) Annie's sister Emily Latitia served as a witness (AC 14), which suggests that relations between them were friendly.[44] The couple stayed in London for several years, and Annie returned to her mother's house to give birth to her first child, a daughter named Emily Ruth Chapman, on June 25, 1870. Her second daughter, named Annie Georgina Chapman, was born June 5, 1873.[45]

Sometime after the birth of her second child, Annie's life began what appears to have been its happiest phase. Although it is impossible to discern Annie's level of satisfaction with her life, by 1880 her family's circumstances had changed for the better. They moved from the cramped poverty of urban London to Clewer, Berkshire, and lived in "St. Leonard's Hill Farm Cottage," where John was employed as a coachman and domestic servant for a well-known local philanthropist (AC 14-15). Both of Annie's daughters attended school, and Shelden has found evidence that Annie Georgina was "educated at a highly respectable ladies' school in Windsor with the cost of her tuition being defrayed by one of Annie's sisters" (AC 15). By appearances, at least, it was a relatively idyllic situation for a family that had flirted with poverty in its past. Annie gave birth to one more child, a boy named John Alfred Chapman after his father and uncle, on November 21, 1880. He suffered from an unspecified physical ailment from birth. In 1881, according to census data, Annie and her children were in London staying with her mother, probably to find medical care for the ill infant, who was subsequently admitted to a hospital. When Annie and her two daughters returned to their home in Berkshire, Shelden writes, John took custody of the children, but Annie was "apparently unwelcome at the farm cottage" (AC 16). This is the first indication of any discord in the marriage, and it appears to have been precipitated by Annie's inability to bear and nurture a healthy male heir. Her return from London without the sole male child may have provoked the separation. In any case, the marriage quickly dissolved, and Annie's life began a downward spiral.

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[44] Quite unusually, there is an extant carte de visite photo of the couple at the time of their marriage, which Shelden obtained from Annie's descendents. While this dissertation focuses specifically on textual representations of the Ripper's victims, I have included the photo in the Appendix of Illustrations as Figure 1.
[45] There are also extant photos of Emily Ruth and Annie Georgina as children. See Appendix of Illustrations, Figures 2 and 3.

According to newspaper reports after her death, Annie's husband was forced to exile her from their marital home because "her dissolute habits made it imperatively necessary that she should reside elsewhere than on the gentleman's grounds" (Windsor and Eton Gazette, qtd. in AC 16). Casebook.org adds that the couple separated "by mutual consent. . . . The reason is uncertain" ("Annie Chapman: History" para 5). There is some evidence of alcoholism in both Annie and John Chapman; Shelden observes that Annie "was often seen wandering about the country like a common tramp" (AC 16). He unfortunately does not cite the source of this information, and I have not found the story repeated in any other text. Interestingly, this behavioural criticism highlights Annie's mobility as the undesirable trait, but mentions nothing about her drinking. Casebook.org cites a police report that identifies

Annie's "drunken and immoral ways" ("Annie Chapman: History" para 5) as the reason for the separation, but also names John as a "heavy drinker" (ibid). One of Annie's many female friends, Amelia Palmer, however, insists that Annie was "a sober, steady going woman who seldom took any drink" ("Annie Chapman: History" para 7). Without a residence in Berkshire, Annie returned alone to London, and ended up living in the slums of the East End, unable to afford a better home on the small allowance of 10 shillings per week that her husband paid her.

Disaster struck two of Annie's three children. Her youngest, Emily Ruth, died of epilepsy and meningitis in 1882 at the age of twelve. She died in the presence of her nanny (AC 25). Her custodial parent, for reasons unknown, did not attend her death, and Annie was not informed of her illness until it was too late. Her son never overcame his physical ailment, and remained institutionalized for the duration of his life. Only the eldest daughter, Annie Georgina, went on to live a long, healthy, and apparently satisfying life. There were wild press rumours after Annie's murder that Annie Georgina had run away with a French circus after her sister's death. This idea, however, is "dismissed entirely as a myth by her family" (AC 27). She probably remained in her father's house, or in a boarding school. Still, Annie's daughter's death, her son's serious illness, and her separation from her one remaining daughter surely took an emotional toll on Annie in her difficult final years.

Annie's husband became fatally ill with cirrhosis of the liver in 1886, and so his weekly allowance payments to Annie stopped, sending her into even greater financial distress. Annie attempted to pay John a visit at the Windsor address to which he had retired, walking all the way from Spitalfields to Windsor. She was unable to track him down, and never saw him again. Shelden argues that she "walked across town to find out whether [his illness] was true, or merely an excuse for him not to send the money" (AC 26). This is only Shelden's interpretation, however; while there were witnesses who met Annie along her walk (AC 26), there is no documentation of her motive, which may have been more benign than Shelden admits. Amelia Palmer described Annie as "downcast" when she spoke of her children, and added, "since the death of her husband she seemed to have given way all together" ("Annie Chapman: History" para 6), no longer striving socially or economically. This suggests the possibility of a bond of true affection between Annie and her husband, whatever difficulties their marriage endured, and provides another possible motive for Annie's final visit to her dying husband. It is simply possible that she wished to see her husband again before his death for emotional, not financial reasons.

The last two years of Annie's life were certainly the most difficult. Although she had several good friends amongst the poor women with whom she lived, her family had dissolved, her mother and sisters avoided her in her marital disgrace, and she herself succumbed to poverty. It was only after John's death on Christmas Day, 1886, that Annie resorted to prostitution to pay for her food and lodging. Casebook.org suggests that she "plied her trade" in Stratford ("Annie Chapman: History" para 27). It would seem, however, that Annie avoided street prostitution as much as possible by sharing lodgings with men who paid for their rooms on a long-term basis. We do not know the nature of her relationships with these men, or what their financial arrangements entailed. Describing prostitution as her "trade" is therefore somewhat presumptive – at least by current definitions of the term – although she did occasionally look for clients on the streets. By Victorian standards, however, the term "prostitute" aptly described her extramarital relationships with men, and made her existence legible to a middle-class audience. She lived for a time with a man named John or Jack Sievey, from whom she took one of her aliases, "Dark Annie Sievey" (AC 27).[46] When he left her, she took up with Edward Stanley, who paid for her bed for a time in a doss house, or lower-class lodging house, called Crossingham's in the infamously criminal Dorset Street, which held 300 lodgers in a small building ("Annie Chapman: History" para 8). Despite this financial support, when her friend Palmer met Annie on the street just a few days before her death, Annie complained of feeling ill. She had had nothing to eat or drink all day, and she was battered and bruised from an altercation with a fellow lodger. The ravages of poverty took their toll on her body.

Annie Chapman spoke her last recorded words in the early morning of Saturday, September 8, 1888. Having no money to pay for her bed, she set out to earn some on the street despite feeling ill, saying "It's no use my giving way. I must pull myself together and go out and get some money or I shall have no lodgings" ("Annie Chapman: History" para 27). Her illness seems to have been misread by police, who later reported that she had been "under the influence of drink" (Evans and Skinner

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[46] Sometimes spelled "Siffey." This may not have been his real name; many Ripperologists assume that he was employed as a sieve-maker.

67). As is often the case in Annie's biographical records, alcoholism is used as a catch-all explanation by officials, although the evidence is inconclusive and Annie herself complained of other illnesses. Another friend of Annie's, Elizabeth Long, mentioned nothing about Annie being the worse for drink the night she died. Long saw her with an unnamed man (and subsequent Ripper suspect) at 5:30 a.m. She overheard the man ask, "Will you?" Annie replied, "Yes" ("Annie Chapman: History" para 34). This final word of assent is both heartbreaking and ironic, the only interaction between ostensible murderer and victim on record. Annie was found dead less than an hour later.

While the picture we have of Annie Chapman's life is incomplete, her death has been thoroughly recorded in a multitude of sources. In death, Annie Chapman became a valuable commodity to the newspapers and investigators who covered her murder. I focus here on perhaps the only under-explored aspect of the murder: Annie's journey from death to burial.[47] Her body was discovered in the back yard of 29 Hanbury Street, Spitalfields at 6:00 a.m., by a man living at that address. Her clothes were in disarray, and she lay on her back in a sexual pose, knees up and spread apart. He called the police immediately, who in turn summoned a Dr. Phillips, the Divisional Surgeon of Police.

> As recorded in Metropolitan Police files, Dr. Philips found that
> the throat was severed deeply[,] incision jagged. Removed from but attached to body, & placed above right shoulder were a flap of the wall of the belly, the

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[47] For complete information on the official unfolding of the case, including suspects, police action, and public reaction, see Evans and Skinner or Rumbelow.

> whole of the small intestines & attachments. Two other portions of wall of belly & "Pubes" were placed above left shoulder in a large quantity of blood . . . . The following parts were missing:- part of belly wall including navel; the womb, the upper part of vagina & greater part of bladder. (Qtd. in Evans and Skinner 66-67)

After examination, Annie was transferred by ambulance to "the labour yard of the Whitechapel Union" because there were no adequate mortuary facilities in the area. At the inquest into the murder, Dr. Phillips

> raised his protest as he had previously done that members in his profession should be called upon to perform their duties in these inadequate circumstances. There were no adequate conveniences for a post-mortem examination; and at particular seasons of the year it was dangerous to the operator. (Evans and Skinner 86)

In death, as in life, Annie's body received poor care. In another bit of the tragic irony that touched Annie so often throughout her life, indignities to her body are recorded through a male doctor's complaint about his working conditions. In the makeshift morgue, Annie was stripped and washed by two female nurses of the Whitechapel Infirmary, where she had sought treatment for her unspecified illness just days before. Dr. Phillips performed a further examination and autopsy, finding her to be undernourished and suffering from tuberculosis. The illness from which Annie suffered was not alcoholism (or at least, not entirely), but tuberculosis, an illness rampant in the unhygienic slums of London.[48]

The police took copious notes about the state and appearance of Annie's dead body. The official police description of Annie is: "age 45, length 5 ft, complexion fair, hair (wavy) dark brown, eyes blue, two teeth deficient in lower jaw, large thick nose; dress black figured jacket, brown bodice, black skirt, lace boots, all old and dirty" (Evans and Skinner 50-51). They brought witnesses to view and identify the body; Annie's lodginghouse keeper, Timothy Donovan, made the official identification (Evans and Skinner 73). Finally, shortly before her burial and in keeping with Victorian tradition, Annie was photographed.[49]

Annie lay in the makeshift mortuary until her burial on September 14, 1888. She was then placed in a "black-draped elm coffin" and transferred to the premises of a Spitalfields undertaker who arranged the funeral on behalf of Annie's estranged family ("Annie Chapman: Funeral" para 2). At 9:00 a.m., she was buried in the City of London Cemetery, public grave 78, square 148. Her relatives paid for the funeral, and by their request were the only ones in attendance.[50] Casebook.org reports, "Chapman's grave no longer exists; it has since been buried over" ("Annie Chapman: Funeral" para 5).

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[48] There have been many studies of the varied and sometimes contradictory cultural connotations of tuberculosis during the Victorian period. Susan Sontag has observed the illness's metaphorical status as a "disease of passion" (11), linking the consumptive, or self-consuming body with unrestrained sexual appetite. There existed, therefore, a cultural linking of the ostensibly unrestrainedly-sexual prostitute to tuberculosis.

[49] Robert J. McLaughlin has published an exhaustive history of the provenance, transmission, and history of the Ripper mortuary photography, The First Jack the Ripper Victim Photographs. I have not included these photographs in my discussion or in the Appendix of Illustrations for several reasons. First, unlike the other photos in the Appendix, the mortuary photos are readily available in nearly every Ripperology and Ripper Studies text in existence. But more importantly, the prevalence and high profile of these photos reinforces the notion that it is the deaths of these women that define their lives – a notion this dissertation seeks to disprove.

Annie Chapman's life began with some promise; although she was never wealthy, her family finances were at least stable, she was educated, and she seems to have enjoyed a happy early family life, and even happiness early in her marriage. It was not Jack the Ripper that destroyed her life, relegating her to poverty and abandonment in the slums of the East End. Again and again, the disruption of her primary relationships with men – the death of her father and separation from her husband – left her without power and without options. Without a stable relationship with a father or a husband, Annie was economically adrift, and was powerless to even maintain relationships with her children. The moral of Chapman's story is that her murder at the hands of the Ripper was only the culmination of a life of victimization: the hegemonic power that structured her life ensured that she could never escape.

Her Name is "Nothing": Catherine Eddowes

Catherine Eddowes was born into a large family in Wolverhampton on April 14, 1842. As Shelden discovered, her name was misspelled as "Catharine" on her birth registration (CE 11). Her early home life must have been very busy; Catherine was a middle child in a family of eleven siblings (although not all survived into adulthood). Sources differ on specific details, but most agree that in the early years of her life the family seems to have enjoyed a reasonably comfortable and happy working-class existence. Shelden, who offers the most complete biography of Catherine, writes that as a child she was also known by the affectionate nicknames "chick" and "Kate," and quotes one of her sisters describing her – somewhat stereotypically – as "a lively little thing, warm-hearted and entertaining" (CE 12).[51] Her father, a tinplate worker, moved his family to London in 1843 to take up employment with the company Perkins and Sharpus of Bell Court, presumably making tinplate and various tinplate objects in a factory. Her elder sisters went into domestic service in London to help support the family (CE 12). Catherine was educated, though not at an expensive or prestigious institution; she attended the Dowgate Charity School in the City of London.[52] In short, Catherine's early childhood appears to have been stable and even pleasant – at least, all of her physical needs were met.

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[50] The Chapman family has maintained its desire for privacy. Shelden contacted them in the course of his research, and although they granted him access to family records, he writes, "the family of Annie Chapman do not want publicity or to be contacted in any way" (f.p. 1).

By the time Catherine had reached her teenaged years, however, the family suffered a pair of disastrous events that left it scattered and impoverished: in 1855 her mother died of tuberculosis, and two years later her father followed, quite unexpectedly. Several of Catherine's younger siblings were "admitted as orphans to

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[51] Again, Shelden does not cite his source.

[52] Hundreds of Charity Schools were opened by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge beginning in the 1700s. They were intended to enable the children of the poor to read the Bible, although trade-based schools intended to produce cheap, obedient domestic servants for the upper classes were also common. Some provided excellent facilities and education – far better than the working-class standard. Many, however, were poorly-funded and poorly-staffed, and sought only to "teach by birch rod and word of mouth, the principles of humility, placid obedience and a due reverence for their superiors" (Richard D. Altick 32-34). Charlotte Bronte's scathingly-described Lowood, the school attended by Jane Eyre, is one such example in fiction.

Bermondsey Workhouse," and others were sent to the "Industrial School" to learn a trade (CE 13). The elder children were already in service positions, and thus apparently had lodging provided. Catherine's sisters banded together to find a position for her, to keep her out of the workhouse. Shelden writes,

> [Catherine's sister] Harriet wrote to an Aunt Elizabeth Eddowes at Wolverhampton to see whether she could get younger sister 'Kate' a situation. Their aunt duly obliged and the mistress at the house where Emma Eddowes worked as a domestic servant at Lower Craven Place, Kentish Town, generously paid Kate's fare to Wolverhampton. (CE 13)

One sister found Catherine a position with her aunt, another provided the means to pay for her journey. As is so often the case in the biographies of all five of Jack the Ripper's victims, women – particularly female family members – band together in the face of disaster to care for each other despite the lack of social and financial resources that only employed men could access. Catherine was lucky to have an aunt with the resources to come to her aid.

Catherine's education was thus over, and from the age of fifteen she lived with and worked for her aunt. While Casebook.org reports that she was placed "into the care of" her aunt ("Catherine Eddowes: History" para 7), Shelden cites the 1861 census that listed a nineteen-year-old niece named "Cath" as a "scourer" in her aunt's employ (CE 15). Her "care" was not free, nor does it appear to have been particularly happy. Although Casebook.org glosses over this period of her life, Shelden writes that "Kate was unable to keep her job for long when she was found to be stealing, so she ran away to live with another uncle, Thomas Eddowes, at The Brick Hill, Bagot Street, Birmingham" (CE 17). He does not cite evidence for Catherine's characterization as a thief, which I have not found repeated anywhere else. Indeed, Casebook.org claims that her aunt even "made a gift of a miniature portrait to Catherine" ("Catherine Eddowes: History" para 7), which suggests that they were on good terms. Further, Catherine spent much of 1862 traveling between family members in Birmingham and Wolverhampton, and it seems unlikely that her family would allow her to reside with them had she been a habitual thief.

In any case, it was in 1862 in Birmingham that she met her first husband, an Irish pensioner named Thomas Conway. The couple's marriage records have never been discovered, but Shelden reports that "Kate had his initials 'TC' tattooed on her forearm in blue ink, and always told people that they were legally married" (CE 17). Whether or not a marriage ceremony had actually taken place, Catherine clearly considered herself Conway's wife. With him, she entered into a somewhat literary occupation: traveling the country selling chapbooks and gallows ballads written by Conway (perhaps with Catherine's input).[53] Casebook.org even reports, "On one occasion she hawked such a ballad at the execution of her cousin, Christopher Robinson, hanged at Strafford in January 1866" ("Catherine Eddowes: History" para 8).[54] However, the money the couple earned from hawking and Conway's small

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[53] None of these ballads or chapbooks has been brought to light; this is an area that requires further archival research, and could yield fascinating results.

[54] Shelden reports:

> On 26th August of the previous year, Robinson cut [a] girl's throat with a razor and left her for dead on the floor of the scullery. She had earlier spurned his attempt to kiss her and Robinson was seen as he struck her with his open hand. After the attack . . . he made a vain attempt at

pension were not enough to provide financial security, and Catherine took additional work as a charwoman. Their financial instability is evidenced by the locations of the births of their three children. Their first daughter, Catherine Ann Conway, was born April 18, 1863 at the Yarmouth Workhouse, Norfolk, during a period of poverty. Their second child, named Thomas after his father, was born in 1868 into "clean and comfortable lodgings at Westminster in London" (CE 20), signaling an apparent upswing in family finances. But by the 1873 birth of her last son, Alfred George, Catherine was again in a workhouse. On August 15 she gave birth at St. George's Workhouse. Shelden writes, "The child was christened at the workhouse before mother and son [were] discharged on 26th August" (CE 21). There is no evidence of Catherine's husband's whereabouts during this time, nor those of her other children. The fact that Catherine did not return to any of her extended family's residences to give birth suggests that by this time, their relationships were not close – perhaps partly because of the uncertain legality of her marriage.

During this time, Catherine developed a reputation for alcoholism, but as in the case of Annie Chapman, that reputation is of uncertain veracity. Indeed, it seems to have been largely assumed by newspaper reporters, police officials, and society in general that women living in poverty – as all the Ripper's victims were at the times of their deaths – were necessarily alcoholics. The depiction echoes preexisting Victorian

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suicide by deliberately cutting his own throat 3 times with the razor. He was stopped from going any further and a surgeon arrived and saved his life . . . . Part of Robinson's defence at the trial was a claim that he was insane when he committed the murder, because insanity was hereditary in his family and his half-sister was in a lunatic asylum. But insanity could not be proven, and Robinson went to the gallows with the words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." (CE 19) practices for representing prostitutes as inherently morally deviant, and provided a convenient way to blame the often-miserable circumstances of their lives on their own habits. Catherine's sister Eliza described Catherine as a woman "of sober habits" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 199), perhaps displaying family loyalty by glossing over what would be regarded as her sister's moral failings. A police officer who had known Catherine for "7 or 8 years" by the time of her death testified at her inquest that "She did not often drink, she was a very jolly woman" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 200), but she was known to other police officers as an occasional street drunk. Shelden reports that whenever Catherine saw her sister Emma, she "always cried when she met with her and would say, 'I wish I was like you'" (CE 20). He takes this to be evidence of her shame about her drinking, but it could equally be read as a longing for financial stability or satisfactory family relationships. Whether or not Catherine was an alcoholic, she undoubtedly did drink – indeed, it would have been statistically improbable for her not to.

Her daughter Catherine Ann later named Catherine's drinking as a factor in the breakdown of her marriage to Thomas. Records of the inquest into Catherine's death quote her daughter as explaining, "He was a teatollar [sic], my mother and he lived on bad terms because she used to drink . . . . He left [her . . .] entirely on account of her Drinking Habits" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 208-209). But there is another explanation for the separation. Casebook.org quotes Catherine's sister Elizabeth as saying, "My sister left Conway because he treated her badly. He did not drink regularly, but when he drew his pension they went out together, and it generally ended with his beating her" ("Catherine Eddowes: History" para 13). This version of events paints a rather different picture of the marriage: both members occasionally drank, and as a result Catherine suffered violence at the hands of her husband. Shelden lists several instances at which "it was evident from her blackened eyes that Kate suffered from Conway's brutality" (CE 21). With all the varying interpretations of both Catherine's character and the nature of her marriage to Conway it is difficult to discern the true reasons behind their separation. Whatever the case, their marriage dissolved in 1880 or 1881. Conway took custody of the male children, and left Catherine with her daughter, who was in her late teens.

The breakdown of her marriage instigated a period of severe poverty in Catherine's life. She moved into a doss house in the slums of Spitalfields, while Catherine Ann escaped into a respectable marriage, and the more secure area of Bermondsey. From this time on, Catherine had little contact with her children. The boys kept their addresses secret from her to avoid being asked for money, and Catherine Ann saw her rarely, although she did attend the birth of Catherine Ann's child in 1886 (Evans and Skinner 209). Catherine was thus almost completely alone in the world. She made a meager living doing cleaning work for the Jewish community in Brick Lane, and Shelden conjectures that she may at this time have engaged in prostitution (CE 23) – but there is little evidence to support this theory, other than the fact of Catherine's extreme poverty. In fact, a police officer who knew Catherine testified at her inquest, "I did not know her to walk the street" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 200). She quickly met and began a long-term marital relationship with a fellow lodger named John Kelly, which lasted for the rest of her life. Kelly worked for a fruit salesman in the area ("Catherine Eddowes: History" para 15). He testified at her inquest that although Catherine "was occasionally in the habit of slightly drinking to excess," he "never suffered her to go out for immoral purposes" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 199-200). He added that at the time of her death, "we had lived together for some time and never had a quarrel" ("Catherine Eddowes: History" para 22). Indeed, their relationship seems to have been happy, although their finances were never stable. Catherine moved between lodging houses, workhouses, and casualty wards for the rest of her life, except for the few weeks each summer when she and John would walk to the country to make some money picking hops.

In fact, the couple had just returned from the season's hop-picking trip of 1888 when Catherine was murdered. Upon arrival in London on September 28, she and John returned to their lodging house. But they hadn't made much money in the country, and by September 29, they were again in dire financial straights. Catherine decided to travel to her daughter's house to ask for money, but appears never to have made it. Instead, she was seen later that night in a characteristically jolly mood, "drunk and attracting a crowd by doing imitations of a fire engine in Aldgate High Street" ("Catherine Eddowes: History" para 23). She was arrested, and spent the last hours of her life behind bars. When asked her name by constables, she replied, "Nothing" (Evans and Skinner 210) – a rather tragic negation of her own identity. By 1:00 a.m., September 30, the police decided that she was sober enough to release, and she left the station, apparently heading for home. Much to the embarrassment of the police force, Catherine was never seen alive again.[55]

Catherine's body was found by Edward Watkins, an officer on beat patrol, just forty-five minutes later in Mitre Square. He testified at the inquest that as he walked into the square:

> I saw the body of a woman lying there on her back with her feet facing the square, her clothes up above her waist. I saw her throat was cut and her bowels protruding. The stomach was ripped up, she was lying in a pool of blood. (Qtd. in Evans and Skinner 201)

Surgeon Frederick Gordon Brown made a more complete examination of the body during an extensive autopsy. His list of the injuries inflicted upon Catherine runs to more than three pages of solid type in Evans and Skinner's text: in addition to the above injuries, her face was mutilated, ear cut off, abdomen "laid open from the breast bone to the pubes" (206), vagina and rectum incised, thighs and labia sliced, liver and pancreas cut, and one kidney and a portion of the uterus had been removed (204-207). The 46-year-old woman was nearly unrecognizable, her body completely destroyed by the fury of the attack that killed her.

Catherine was not identified until October 2, possibly because the extreme mutilations she suffered obscured the identity of the woman who had, just hours earlier, chillingly referred to herself as "Nothing." Eventually, her sister Eliza and John Kelly came forward to officially identify the body. While the police files contain a list of her clothing and possessions at the time of her death, there is no official police description of Catherine herself. Shelden, however, describes her as being "5 ft tall, with hazel eyes, a dark complexion, and a very thick upper lip and auburn hair" (CE 29). Continuing the effacement of identity Catherine experienced after her death, she was buried in an unmarked, public grave at Ilford Cemetery, London, on October 8, 1888 (grave 49336, square 318). Her official mourners were almost entirely her female family members: sisters and nieces. They provided a funeral wreath and a polished elm coffin. John Kelly also attended, much affected by the loss of the woman who had taken the role of his wife for several years. Extraordinarily, the funeral was also attended by thousands of East Enders most of whom had never met Catherine. Within her own community, Catherine's death was marked by interest, sorrow, and respect.

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[55] Catherine's was not the only Ripper murder of the night; she was the second victim of the so-called "Double Event" of September 30.

The Tragic Heroine: Mary Jane Kelly

There is very little documentary evidence about the life of Mary Jane Kelly. Shelden, who has uncovered most of the evidence we *do* have, states that

> Any details concerning the life of Mary Jane Kelly leading up to her premature death at Miller's Court, Spitalfields, remains [sic] for the most part unproven. Much of what a biographer has to rely upon are her own somewhat dubious accounts told to friends in the East End. (JRV 33)

Instead of regarding this as problematic for the creation of her biography, as Shelden seems to do, I consider Mary Jane's stories about her own life to offer fascinating insight into the representational practices she herself engaged in. Some of her stories were no doubt factual, or based to some extent in fact. Others may have been entirely fantasy. While her biographers might not be able to distinguish between the facts and fictions of Mary Jane's life, we can at least catch extraordinary glimpses of the ways in which she hoped to represent herself – the life she wanted, but never achieved.

Little is known of Mary Jane Kelly's early life. She was born in 1863 or 1864 somewhere in Ireland to a fairly well-off family. Her father, John Kelly, was an ironworker, and she had six brothers and one sister (JRV 33). Although Shelden claims that her sister "was very fond of her" (JRV 33), Casebook.org disagrees, quoting an acquaintance of Mary Jane's who observed that "she never corresponded with her family" ("Mary Jane Kelly: History" para 4) in later life. At some point, the family moved to Wales where John found employment in an ironworks. In about 1879, when Mary Jane was approximately 16 years old, she met and married a man named "Davis" or "Davies," who worked as a collier. The marriage lasted only a few years, and Casebook.org suggests that "there might have been a child in this marriage" ("Mary Jane Kelly: History" para 8). There is no further mention of a child, nor is there any indication of the happiness of the marriage. According to Mary Jane, her husband died two or three years after their wedding in an explosion, which is plausible: early death was a common career hazard for coal miners.

After Davis' death, Mary Jane settled in Cardiff, which is where she was introduced to prostitution. Of the five women discussed in this chapter, Mary Jane could most accurately be described as a career prostitute, supporting herself with sex work as necessary throughout her life. Shelden reports that in Cardiff, Mary Jane "stayed with a cousin who was believed to be the cause of her resorting to prostitution" (33). He does not explain who "believed" this or what his source is, and Casebook.org argues that although she probably worked as a prostitute in Cardiff, "the Cardiff police have no record of her. She says she was ill and spent the best part of the time in an infirmary" ("Mary Jane Kelly: History" para 9). If Mary Jane was indeed a prostitute in Cardiff, the story she told about her life, emphasizing her stay in the infirmary, glosses over this fact. She apparently wished to portray herself as a respectable young woman in the years following her husband's death.[56]

In 1884 Mary Jane moved to London. Here again, her life story breaks into two threads: a respectable, possibly fictional version of events, and a more sordid tale that is generally taken by Ripperologists to be closer to the truth. This again suggests that Mary Jane attempted to script a narrative of her life that allowed her to control the way her character was represented and read. Casebook.org recounts that upon her arrival in London,

> She may have stayed with the nuns at the Providence Row Convent on Chrisp Street. According to one tradition she scrubbed floors and charred here and was eventually placed into domestic service in a shop on Cleveland Street. ("Mary Jane Kelly: History" para 11)

From this respectable beginning, however, "she made the acquaintance of a French woman residing in the neighborhood of Knightsbridge, who, she informed her friends, led her to pursue the degraded life [of prostitution]" ("Mary Jane Kelly: History" para 16). According to this version of Mary Jane's biography, she – a respectable young widow – was innocently led from a convent into prostitution by a predatory, foreign, brothel-keeper.[57] On the other hand, her final male attachment, Joseph Barnett, stated that "on arriving in London, Kelly went to work in a high class brothel in the West End" ("Mary Jane Kelly: History" para 12). Shelden agrees, arguing that Mary Jane herself took the initiative, and "went to a madam of a brothel in the West End" (JRV 33) to seek employment. If Mary Jane had indeed already worked as a prostitute in Cardiff, this action makes sense: upon arrival in a new city, her first task would be to attempt to find steady work. Whatever the case, shortly after arriving in London, Mary Jane was earning her livelihood through prostitution.

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[56] Shelden insists, "Research followed up by various authors and researchers has failed to prove" (JRV 33) any of this information.

Mary Jane moved from place to place often during her time in London, but tended to stay in the East End. At various times she had lodgings in St. George's Street, Breezer's Hill off Pennington Street, near Stepney Gasworks, in Bethnal Green, in Thrawl Street, and finally in Miller's Court. Sometimes she boarded with other women, sometimes she lived with individual men – it is unknown whether these arrangements were financial, romantic, or both. Once, a man (presumably a client) took her on a trip to France; however, Shelden reports that "she was in France barely a fortnight and decided she did not like the place and returned to London" (JRV 33).

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[57] This narrative of the victimized fallen woman was very prominent in London in the 1880s. The best-known example is probably "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," a series of wildly-popular articles by W. T. Stead published in the Pall Mall Gazette in 1885. Given the intense public interest in Stead's work and his resultant criminal trial for the abduction of a child prostitute, it is quite likely that Mary Jane was familiar enough with his "fallen woman" narrative to employ parts of it in her own life narrative.

While in London, Mary Jane seems to have had no further contact with her family. Shelden does suggest that "on one occasion, her father came into the area to try to find his daughter, but she heard from her companions that he was looking for her and kept out of his way" (JRV 34). Although Shelden does not cite a source, this small story has two important implications, if true. First, it would seem that Mary Jane's family wished to be in touch with her, for unknown reasons. Her father made the long trip from Cardiff to find her. Did he have some important family news to impart, perhaps the death of her mother? Or did he wish to bring her home, to rescue her from her morally precarious life in London? Second, Mary Jane herself apparently had no desire to resume contact with her family. We cannot speculate on the nature of the relationship between father and daughter, but Mary Jane obviously preferred her life in London to whatever her father had to offer.

In 1887, Mary Jane met a man named Joe Barnett, and began a romantic relationship with him. Like Mary Jane, he was of Irish heritage. He had steady work as a porter at the Billingsgate Fish Market, which allowed her to give up prostitution. Although the two never married, they remained together until just before her death, and were universally described by their friends and acquaintances as a happy, pleasant couple; Barnett affectionately referred to Mary Jane as "Marie Jeanette" (JRV 34). The couple quickly began living together in a series of boarding houses. Eventually they settled in a single room in Miller's Court, where Mary Jane was to meet her death. Casebook.org describes the room as only 12 feet square, furnished with a bed, a cupboard, two tables and a chair ("Miller's Court" para 3). It must have been very cramped. It was also unsafe, even by the relatively low safety standards of the crime-ridden East End: "The key to the door was missing. The window closest it [*sic*] was broken and stuffed with rags and you could reach the spring lock of the door through the window" ("Miller's Court" para 4). Décor, apart from the furnishings, was restricted to two items: a man's coat was hung over the window as a curtain, which afforded a small measure of privacy, and a small print hung over the fireplace entitled "The Fisherman's Widow" ("Miller Court para 3).[58] Although it could hardly be described as homey, the room at Miller's Court was at least a step up from the doss houses that were so common to the area. Mary Jane had more privacy and personal space than any of the other victims of Jack the Ripper had at the times of their deaths.

Mary Jane and Joe shared more than their Irish heritage; they also both struggled with alcoholism. In fact, they were evicted from one of their earliest shared lodgings for "not paying rent and being drunk" ("Mary Jane Kelly: History" para 25). Throughout her life, alcohol fueled another dichotomy in Mary Jane's character: by all accounts she was an altogether different person when drunk than she was when she was sober. Sober, friends described her character as "much superior to that of most persons in her position in life" ("Mary Jane Kelly" para 3). She was known for helping friends in need, and was therefore respected and well-liked. She was further described as "a very quiet woman" ("Mary Jane Kelly" para 6), an altogether "good, quiet, pleasant girl" ("Mary Jane Kelly" para 8). Mary Jane was also physically attractive, with blonde hair, blue eyes, and a bright, fair complexion. At her inquest, she was "said to have been possessed of considerable personal attractions" ("Mary Jane Kelly" para 1). When she was drunk, however, she was riotous and noisy "to an extent which made her unwelcome" ("Mary Jane Kelly: History" para 17) in several establishments. She was even arrested at least once – on September 19, 1888 – for being drunk and disorderly. Quiet and noisy, good and wanton, caring and oblivious: the two sides of Mary Jane's personality were as distinct as they were pronounced.[59]

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[58] There have been several attempts – all inconclusive – to identify the print and to ascertain whether or not it belonged to Mary herself. See, for example: <http://forum.casebook.org/showthread.php?p=37258>.

In fact, it was the dual nature of Mary Jane's personality that proved to be her downfall. The protection afforded by Joe's presence in the room at Miller's Court departed, with him, in the autumn of 1888 when Mary Jane seemed unable to reconcile the two sides of her character. As he stated in a newspaper interview, he decided to leave Mary Jane because he feared that her kindness to prostitute friends would lure her back to the sex trade once again. He said,

> She would never have gone wrong again, and I shouldn't have left her if it had not been for the prostitutes stopping at the house. She only let them [stay there] because she was good hearted and did not like to refuse them shelter on cold bitter nights. We lived comfortably until Marie allowed a prostitute named Julia to sleep in the same room; I objected . . . . I left and took lodgings elsewhere. ("Miller's Court" para 9)

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[59] According to the standard psychiatric text Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, several of Mary Jane's behavior patterns meet diagnostic criteria for Bipolar Disorder, a mental illness not yet defined in Victorian times. This disorder provides a possible explanation for the unusual extremes apparent in her personality.

Mary Jane's kindness to friends in need opened the possibility of a reversion to a life of prostitution, poverty and drunkenness – and indeed, after Joe left her Mary Jane did return to prostitution. Despite their separation, however, the couple remained on good terms, and Joe gave Mary Jane money whenever he could afford it. Still, his absence from the room provided opportunity for Jack the Ripper to strike.

Mary Jane was killed in her room in Miller Court in the early morning hours of November 9, 1888, the final victim of Jack the Ripper. She was approximately 25 years old. Earlier that night, Joe had called on her for a visit to tell her, as he explained sadly at her inquest, that "I was very sorry I had no work and that I could not give her any money" (Evans and Skinner 364). When he left, she went out drinking at a nearby pub, intermittently leaving with clients. She apparently had a meal of fish and potatoes, and then returned home with yet another client. Witnesses said she was very drunk, loudly singing "A Violet from Mother's Grave" ("Miller's Court" para 21). At 2:00 a.m. Mary Jane was seen out again, in search of money. She was seen for the last time returning home with her final client approximately one hour later. Whether this man was Jack the Ripper or not is a matter of some uncertainty. What is certain, however, is that Mary Jane had been dead for several hours by the time her body was found by her landlord at 10:45 a.m.

Like all the women killed by Jack the Ripper, Mary Jane's throat had been cut. The mutilations to her body, however, were the most severe of all the victims, perhaps because the privacy afforded by her room provided opportunity for her killer to prolong his work. She was discovered lying on her bed, nearly naked, with her clothes folded neatly beside her on the chair. Her legs were propped apart, and her injuries were so extensive that her body was barely recognizable as human. The post-mortem report offers extensive details, selections of which follow:

> The whole surface of the abdomen & thighs was removed & the abdominal cavity emptied of its viscera. The breasts were cut off, the arms mutilated by several jagged wounds & the face hacked beyond all recognition of the features . . . . The viscera were found in various parts viz; the uterus & kidneys with one breast under the head, the other breast by the right foot, the liver between the feet, the intestines by the right side & the spleen by the left side of the body . . . . The right thigh was denuded in front to the bone, the flap of skin, including the external organs of generation & part of the right buttock. The left thigh was stripped of skin, fascia & muscles as far as the knee. (Qtd. in Evans and Skinner 346)

Perhaps most chillingly, the report continues, "The Pericardium was open below & the Heart absent" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 347). Official identification of the body was provided by an emotional Joe Barnett, who told the inquest that he could only identify Mary Jane "by the ear and the eyes" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 368). His loving, intimate knowledge of Mary Jane's body stands in terrible opposition to the close, violent physical attention her killer had paid her.

Following the brief inquest, Mary Jane's body was buried on November 19 at St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Cemetery, in public grave number 66, row 66, plot 10 ("Mary Jane Kelly: Funeral" para 1). Barnett was instrumental in ensuring a proper, Catholic burial, since her family did not attend. Many of her friends and acquaintances were there, however. Shelden recounts that the event "brought thousands of poorly clad East End men, women, and children, out of their homes and onto the streets in order to pay their last respects" (JRV 36). Mary Jane was thus buried as a beloved and respected member of the East End community. It would seem that Mary Jane was remembered as fondly as any character she could have scripted for herself.

No Escape from the Streets: Mary Ann Nichols

Mary Ann Walker was born in 1845 in the City of London into a relatively financially stable, working-class home. Her father Edward worked as a locksmith and blacksmith, and her mother took work as a laundress when Mary Ann, her older brother Edward and younger brother Frederick were in school (JRV 3). Her early family life was ordinary, save for the fact that her mother Caroline was just twelve years old – the minimum age of sexual consent before 1885 – when she married Mary Ann's father, who was six years older than she. As we shall see, there is some documentary evidence of a close relationship between Mary Ann and her father at several points in her life, but no similar evidence about her relationship with her mother. Aside from these facts, there are no recorded comments about Mary Ann's parents' somewhat unusual marriage, nor is there any further information about her childhood. Indeed, the vagaries of history have left contemporary researchers with sparse information about her life as a whole.

The next information available concerning Mary Ann is a record of her marriage to William Nichols, a printer from Oxford. The couple was married on January 16, 1864 at St. Bride's Parish Church, Fleet Street (JRV 3). Mary Ann was nineteen years old when she married; she did not follow in her mother's marital footsteps, and her family did not attend the wedding. Shelden asserts, "witnesses were provided for the service by the parish" (JRV 3). It is uncertain why this is so: Mary Ann remained close to her father, and she herself served as a witness at her brother Edward's wedding in 1869. Her own marriage, however, was unhappy and chaotic. It is possible that her family disapproved of her choice of husband.

Casebook.org reports that Mary Ann and William had five children during their marriage: Edward John (1866), Percy George (1868), Alice Esther (1870), Eliza Sarah (1877) and Henry Alfred (1879) ("Mary Ann Nichols: History" para 5). The children were the products of brief periods of reconciliation between increasingly long bouts of discord and physical separation. Shelden refers to "many years of marital disputes," and offers evidence that Mary Ann stayed in workhouses at several points during her marriage (JRV 4). It would seem that when the couple argued, Mary Ann left the family home and William remained with the children. William, at the inquest into Mary's death, attributed their marital problems to her alcoholism. According to inquest records, William testified that "Deceased was much given to drink. They separated several times, and each time he took her back she got drunk, and that was why he had to leave her altogether" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 38). However, Mary Ann's father was also at the inquest, and he provided a different version of the events leading to the couple's separation. Although he never denied her alcoholism, he stated, "The reason deceased parted from her husband was that he went and lived with the woman who nursed his wife during her confinement" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 33). In other words, Mary Ann discovered evidence of a sexual relationship between her husband and the woman who had cared for her after the birth of one of her children – a significant betrayal for a new mother. For whatever reason, Mary Ann and William separated permanently in 1881. The children remained with their father, with the exception of the eldest son, who went to live with his grandfather Edward.[60]

After the breakdown of her marriage, Mary Ann struggled with poverty. For a few months after the separation, William paid Mary Ann a small allowance, but "in 1882, William found out that his wife was living as a prostitute and discontinued support payments to her" ("Mary Ann Nichols: History" para 8). Casebook.org documents many nights she that passed in workhouses, moving between the Lambeth Workhouse, Lambeth Infirmary, Giles Workhouse, Strand Workhouse, Mitcham Workhouse, and Holborn Workhouse. When not in workhouses, Mary Ann attempted to earn enough money for a doss house, probably through prostitution. She was not always successful. Casebook.org reports that on December 2, 1887, "she was caught 'sleeping rough' (in the open) in Trafalgar Square. She was found to be destitute and with no means of sustenance and was sent on to Lambeth Workhouse" ("Mary Ann Nichols: History" para 20). On the streets, hers was a miserable existence.

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[60] This son appears never to have reconciled with his father. Casebook.org observes that he "would have nothing to due [sic] with his father at his mother's funeral" ("Mary Ann Nichols: History" para 9).

Mary Ann made several attempts to escape the poverty of the streets and regain a measure of respectability. From March to May, 1883, she moved in with her father, but they quarreled over her drinking and she returned to the streets. He explained at the inquest, "He did not turn the deceased out of doors. They simply had a few words, and the following morning she left home" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 33). Sometime between 1883 and 1887 she lived with a man named Drew, for either romantic or financial reasons. This relationship apparently improved her lot in life significantly; she attended her brother Edward's funeral in 1886, and her estranged family found her to be "respectably dressed" ("Mary Ann Nichols: History" para 16).[61] Again, though, this improvement was only temporary and she once again succumbed to what Shelden dramatically calls her "insatiable lust for the bottle" (JRV 7). Her final attempt to leave the streets came shortly before her death. In May, 1888, the matron of Lambeth Workhouse rewarded Mary Ann's good behaviour by finding her a position as a domestic servant for the Clerk of Works of the police department. The matron hoped that the religious and teetotalling household would provide a healthy environment for Mary Ann's rehabilitation. Mary Ann shared these hopes. In a letter to her father, she wrote:

> I just write to say you will be glad to know that I am settled in my new place and going all right up to now. My people went out yesterday and have not

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[61] Edward's death was somewhat sensational; he burned to death in front of his wife when a paraffin lamp exploded in his face (see JRV 5 for a detailed account of the accident and inquest).

> returned so I am left in charge. It is a grand place inside with trees and gardens back and front. All has been newly done up. They are teetotalers and very religious so I ought to get on. They are very nice people and I have not much to do. I do hope you are all right and the boy [her son Edward] has work. So goodbye now for the present.
>
> Yours Truly Polly.
>
> Answer soon please and let me know how you are. (Qtd. in JRV 6)[62]

The letter's optimistic and affectionate tone suggests that Mary Ann was fond of her family and hopeful for her future. Her rehabilitation, however, did not last long. Mary Ann worked for the family for two months, but absconded in July, 1888, "taking with her goods to the value of £3 10s 0d" (JRV 6). A month later, she was dead.

Mary Ann's last address was a lodging house in Flower and Dean Street, in what was known as the "evil quarter mile" of the East End – the most poverty-stricken and crime-ridden part of the district. Little is known about her last days, but she was seen by several witnesses on August 30, the night of her death, walking the streets, drinking, and looking for clients. Sometime after 1:00 a.m. on August 31, she was turned away from her lodging house when she couldn't produce her payment for the night. "Never mind!" she said as she went out. "I'll soon get my doss money. See what a jolly bonnet I've got now" ("Mary Ann Nichols: Last Addresses" para 9). She was last seen by a fellow lodger, Ellen Holland, at 2:30 a.m. The two women stood together in the street and chatted for a few moments, Mary Ann telling Ellen that she

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[62] Mary Ann's father saved this letter, and presented it to the coroner at the inquest into her death. It is the only extant letter from any of the Ripper's victims.

"had had her doss money three times that day and had drunk it away" ("Mary Ann Nichols: Last Addresses" para 11). They parted, Mary Ann returning to her search for a client.

An hour later, a carman named Charles Cross was on his way to work when he stumbled across Mary Ann Nichols' body where it lay by a stable yard gate in Buck's Row (JRV 7). He immediately went for the police, who in turn summoned a surgeon to pronounce life extinct. Mary Ann's killer had inflicted extensive injuries: a slash on her neck "completely severed all the tissues down to the vertebrae . . . There were several incisions running across the abdomen. There were also three or four similar cuts, running downwards, on the right side" (Evans and Skinner 35). The complete autopsy records on Mary Ann have been lost, and historians such as Evans and Skinner have had to rely on the often-incomplete newspaper reports about the inquest for their information. A more thorough description of her injuries is therefore unavailable. There were no mutilations to her face, and her body was quickly identified by a fellow workhouse inmate, Mary Ann Monk, and confirmed by William Nichols ("Mary Ann Nichols: Buck's Row" para 10).

At the time of her death, Mary Ann was 43 years old. She was 5 feet, 2 inches tall, "with dark brown hair turning grey, brown eyes, a nose approaching the aquiline, a dark complexion, two teeth missing, a good figure, and a small childhood scar on her forehead" (JRV 8). Historians have little information about her personality or character traits. Casebook.org contends, "she seems to have been well liked by all who knew her" ("Mary Ann Nichols: Buck's Row" para 16), and at the inquest her father testified, “I don’t think she had any enemies, she was too good for that” (*ibid*). But there are no records of friends’ testimony about her character, as there are for the other victims of the Ripper. While there are some confirmed facts about her life, it is somehow difficult to form a complete picture of the woman herself. No personality – however tenuously drawn – emerges (as it does, for example, for Mary Jane Kelly) from the existing records of her life, other than that of a relatively bland, pleasant, but poverty-stricken woman. Ultimately, she failed to escape from the anonymity of the poverty that engulfed much of her life. Even her death at the hands of Jack the Ripper served only to further obscure details of her life; she is a murder victim, and nothing more. Finally, Mary Ann’s funeral took place on September 6, 1888. Her only mourners were the three primary men in her life: her father, her estranged husband, and her eldest son. She was buried in Manor Park Cemetery, public grave 210752 (“Mary Ann Nichols: Funeral” para 2).

Pushed to a “Fall”: Elizabeth Stride

Elizabeth Stride was not a Briton; in fact, amongst the victims of Jack the Ripper she is the sole representative of the throngs of European immigrants who flooded into London late in the nineteenth century. Unexpectedly, given the nature of her death, Elizabeth’s life began most promisingly. She was born Elizabeth Gustafsdotter on a small farm in Sweden in November, 1843. Her father, Gustaf Ericsson, owned the farm, and he and his wife had four children, all of whom attended the local parish school. From this rural, financially stable, and idyllic-sounding beginning, far from the slums of London, however, Elizabeth somehow slipped into a life of poverty. Although there are few records from her early life (and fewer recorded interviews with people who knew her then), Shelden has discovered that Elizabeth's mother died in 1864, when Elizabeth was 21 years old, and that Elizabeth was at that time working as a domestic servant in Gothenburg (JRV 19), for a workman named Lars Frederick Olofsson, who had four children ("Elizabeth Stride: History" para 1). We have no details about the nature of Elizabeth's service, nor information about how her mother's death affected her, but by the following year her circumstances had changed significantly. As Shelden reports, "in 1865 she was registered as a prostitute in Gothenburg police files" (JRV 19). She gave birth to a stillborn daughter shortly thereafter. This is, perhaps, the crucial turning point in Elizabeth's life: within a span of a few months, she went from respectable servant to registered prostitute.

It is unlikely that we will ever be able to definitively confirm the reasons for this transition, but by constructing a timeline of this period of Elizabeth's life, a possible solution emerges. After a four-year-long period of stability, Elizabeth left her place of employment, started working as a prostitute, and gave birth to a child.

Table 2: Elizabeth Stride, 1860-1865[63]

Date	Event
1860	Elizabeth enters domestic service for Olofsson
1864	Mother dies; Elizabeth still in service
Late 1864 – early 1865?	Elizabeth leaves service
March, 1865	Elizabeth registered by police as a prostitute
April 21, 1865	Elizabeth gives birth to a stillborn daughter

Elizabeth gave birth to her daughter in April. Assuming her pregnancy to have lasted the average nine months – and even if it were significantly shorter – it is probable that she was still in service at the time she became pregnant.[64] I conjecture that Elizabeth, willingly or not, entered into a sexual relationship with her employer Olofsson, a man with complete power over her employment and domestic situation. It is unlikely that he, a "workman," would have been wealthy enough to employ male servants whose wages were significantly higher than female domestics; he was therefore probably the only adult male in his household, and the only man with unfettered access to and authority over Elizabeth.[65] Whoever the father was (and I do believe it was most likely Olofsson), when Elizabeth became pregnant she would have been forced to leave Olofsson's employ in order to preserve the social respectability of his household. She did not return to her father's farm, either because of her own shame or her father's refusal to harbour his disgraced daughter. The pregnant woman was left with very few options, and turned to prostitution to make her living. Elizabeth was a "fallen woman," then, but she was pushed into her fall, like many of her fellows, by circumstances beyond her control.

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[63] Information taken from JRV 19 and "Elizabeth Stride: History" para 3.

[64] The use of the term "stillborn" makes me suspect that her pregnancy was nearly full term; a miscarriage is unlikely to have been recorded at all, and is rarely described as a stillbirth.

[65] This is an area in which further historical research could prove fruitful.

Judging by the above timeline, Elizabeth must have been quite highly pregnant during her first working months as a prostitute. While there are no records of where she lived during this time, she had very little money. It cannot have been a happy existence, and could even have led to the death of her unborn child. After the birth of her stillborn daughter, Elizabeth continued working as a prostitute. Casebook.org reports that from October to November of 1865 she was treated at "the special hospital Kurhuset for venereal disease," specifically "a venereal chancre" ("Elizabeth Stride: History" para 5).[66] Aside from the unpleasantness of her circumstances, she must also have endured the discomfort and pain of her illness. Treatment was successful, however, and in 1866 Elizabeth decided to make a fresh start with her life.

In 1866, at the age of 23, Elizabeth traveled alone to London, where she somehow managed to reverse the poor fortune of the previous year and "became a domestic servant to a gentleman's family living in the West End" (JRV 19). It was apparently a comfortable arrangement, and Elizabeth remained in the position until March, 1869 when she married a man named John Thomas Stride, a coffee hall proprietor almost twice her age. Perhaps significantly, Elizabeth falsely recorded her father's name as "Augustus Gustifson" on the marriage registry (JRV 19), thus essentially writing her father out of her new, happy life. Apparently, their relationship was irreparably damaged by the events of 1865. Elizabeth and John kept a coffee hall in Upper North Street, Poplar, in the East End of London, and lived nearby. In 1871 they moved to another coffee hall at 178 Poplar High Street, and resided a few doors down the street.

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[66] The disease from which Elizabeth suffered is likely to have been syphilis. As Walkowitz reports, prostitutes sometimes attempted to prevent infection by applying "oil to the vaginal walls to prevent abrasions that would render them susceptible to venereal infections" (Prostitution and Victorian Society 51). Victorian-era treatment for the disease was "mercury treatment in the form of pills, vapor baths, or inunction with ointment" (52).

The couple appears to have been happy and relatively financially stable until 1878, when the story of Elizabeth's life becomes more difficult to discern, and statements start to contradict each other. Casebook.org reports:

> In 1878 the Princess Alice, a saloon steam ship, collides with the steamer Bywell Castle in the Thames. There is a loss of 600-700 lives. [Elizabeth] will claim that her husband and children were killed in this disaster and that her palate was injured by being kicked in the mouth while climbing the mast to escape. No corroborative evidence exists for this statement and we know that her husband actually died in 1884. The post mortem report on her specifically states that there was no damage to either her hard or soft palate. This story may have been told by her to elicit sympathy when asking for financial aid from the Swedish Church. ("Elizabeth Stride: History" para 14)

Elizabeth told this story throughout her life, despite its rather transparently untrue, melodramatic plot. Not only was her husband still alive, but the couple never had any children, as she claimed. It *was* true, however, that her marriage had ended. For unknown reasons, after 1878 "it is reasonable to assume that the marriage has irrevocably fallen apart" ("Elizabeth Stride: History" para 16). There are no records of husband and wife ever seeing each other again. Elizabeth's narrative of the sinking of the Princess Alice attempts to put an heroic and tragic spin on what was really a social and economic disaster for Elizabeth. She had lived in poverty and prostitution before, and seems to have invented this story in order to preserve the façade of respectability. It was a desperate and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to avoid a return to life as a "fallen" woman.

In the years that followed, Elizabeth lived intermittently with a series of men, and spent time in workhouses, infirmaries, and doss houses, which she paid for by returning to prostitution. She received occasional aid from the Swedish Church, but simultaneously succumbed to alcoholism and was unable to repeat the feat of her 1866 rehabilitation. Shelden reports that in 1884 Elizabeth appeared at Thames Magistrates Court, charged with being "drunk and disorderly, and soliciting prostitution" (JRV 21). She was sentenced to seven days of hard labour. Casebook.org states that "during the 20 months prior to her death she appeared 8 times before the Magistrate on similar charges" ("Elizabeth Stride: History" para 26). Elizabeth's last romantic relationship began in 1885, when she met Michael Kidney, a dock worker. In the final three years of her life, she lived with him sporadically; Shelden explains that "Kidney strongly objected to her going on the streets and her heavy drinking bouts, and at times he probably resorted to violence [to prevent it]" (JRV 21). Casebook.org adds, "he even tried, unsuccessfully, to padlock her in"

("Elizabeth Stride: History" para 20). Elizabeth charged him with assault on at least two occasions in 1887 (JRV 21), but failed to attend court as necessary to prosecute him. Despite this, their relationship continued until her death, although they were living apart when she died.

In the days before her death, Elizabeth lodged at a doss house on Flower and Dean Street. She earned money for her bed by cleaning various rooms in the house, and through prostitution. The final hours of her life were unremarkable: she left the doss house at around 7:30 p.m. on September 29, spent time drinking in the local public house, and was seen after that in Berner Street with several different clients (JRV 22). There are a number of dubious reports by witnesses claiming to have seen Elizabeth with her killer that night, walking towards the place of her murder, but the only proven fact is that her body was discovered at 1:00 a.m. on September 30, 1888, by Louis Diemschutz. She lay in a small yard just off Berner Street. Her body was still warm.

Unlike all the other victims of Jack the Ripper, Elizabeth was not mutilated. As Casebook.org suggests, "it is believed that Diemschutz's arrival frightened the Ripper, causing him to flee before he performed the mutilations" ("Elizabeth Stride: September 30th" para 16). Perhaps because of the more sensational and gruesome murder of Catherine Eddowes on the same night, police, press, and public paid less attention to Elizabeth's death than to the other murders. At the inquest, police surgeon Dr. George Phillips gave the cause of death as "loss of blood from the left carotid artery and the division of the windpipe" (qtd. in Evans and Skinner 159). Her throat was cut, but there were no other injuries to her body.

The police described Elizabeth at the time of her death at 44 years old as being "5ft 5 ins tall, with blue eyes, dark brown curly hair, a straight nose, oval face, a pale complexion, with all the teeth absent on the left lower jaw, and a slender figure" (JRV 23). As to her general appearance, a fellow lodger testified at her inquest that "a neater, cleaner woman never lived" ("Elizabeth Stride" para 6). As Shelden elaborates, "she was a very popular, good-natured, and hard working lodger. She was also considered to be a good cook, and expert in the use of a sewing machine, knitting, and all kinds of needlework" (JRV 23). She would use whatever small resources she had at her disposal to "do a good turn for anyone" ("Elizabeth Stride" para 5), and her friends and fellow lodgers appeared to genuinely mourn her death. Elizabeth was buried on October 6, 1888 in public grave number 15509, square 37, East London Cemetery, Plaistow. Her "sparse" funeral was paid for by the parish ("Elizabeth Stride: Funeral" para 2).

Conclusion

The often compelling stories about the lives of Annie Chapman, Catherine Eddowes, Mary Jane Kelly, Mary Ann Nichols, and Elizabeth Stride have not been told in this way before. As we have seen, the five victims of Jack the Ripper had little in common, at least until they met their deaths at the hands of a brutal murderer. One was Irish. One was Swedish. Two were born in London, and one in Wolverhampton.

Their lives followed different paths; they had vastly different personalities, different relationships to their families, and different occupations. Nevertheless, as Walkowitz has observed, after their deaths the women were positioned within a representational mode that reduced them to "grotesque body fragments, replete with gaps, orifices, missing body portions, emblematic of female vice" (City 198). The reality of the women's lives was lost in the cultural representation of, and preoccupation with, their deaths.[67]

Elaine Scarry's text on the convergence of physical torture and discursive power, The Body in Pain, provides a useful explanation for the disappearance of these women's lives and identities after their deaths. She observes that the pain that occurs with physical torture "permits one person's body to be translated into another person's voice, [and] allows real human pain to be converted into a regime's fiction of power" (18).[68] In the Ripper case, the bodies of the victims are constantly "read" for clues and information about the Ripper himself, valuable only for what they reveal about their mysterious killer. It is as though the killer is speaking through their bodies; investigators and Ripperologists work to understand his medium, language and message. Through torture and murder, the Ripper's voice supersedes the women's own voices. The "regime of power" he represents, as we have seen, is comprised of the many pre-existing cultural narratives prescribing specific sex and gender roles for women, and condoning punishment for deviance from these roles. Interestingly, Scarry concludes, "it is, of course, precisely because the reality of that power is so highly contestable, the regime so unstable, that torture is being used" in the first place (27).

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[67] Walkowitz herself has contributed greatly to the current level of scholarly knowledge about the historical realities of the lives of Victorian prostitutes, particularly during the Contagious Diseases Acts and the resultant repeal movements. See Prostitution and Victorian Society.

[68] This is in keeping with current criminological theory, which posits that virtually all serial killing is motivated by a desire to exercise power over a victim. As sociologists Fox and Levin argue in their 2005 book, Extreme Killing: Understanding Serial and Mass Murder, "The overwhelming majority of serial killings, as well as a substantial number of mass killings, express a theme in which power and control are clearly dominant" (20). They add, "the fundamental objective in the actions of the sadistic serial killer is to achieve complete mastery over his victims" (46).

In the 1990s, several of the Ripper's victims began to be commemorated, ostensibly an important first step in reconsidering them as distinct individuals deserving of their own narratives and representations. Casebook.org reports that Mary Jane Kelly's anonymous grave was marked with a memorial plaque in the 1990s ("Mary Jane Kelly: Funeral" para 6). Catherine Eddowes and Mary Ann Nichols were similarly memorialized: Catherine "lies beside the Garden Way in front of Memorial Bed 1849. In late 1996, the cemetery authorities decided to mark [Catherine's] grave with a plaque" ("Catherine Eddowes: Funeral" para 5). Mary Ann's grave was marked that same year.[69] The plaque in her honour reads:

> Here lie the remains of Mary Ann Nicholls
> Aged 43 years
> Buried 6th September 1888
> Victim of "Jack the Ripper" (JRV, f.p. 20)

Although her name is misspelled, her killer is clearly identified, which suggests that this memorial is dedicated more to tourists interested in the Ripper's crimes than to Mary Ann herself. Indeed, Casebook.org adds that "the gravestones of

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[69] Elizabeth Stride and Annie Chapman's graves remain unmarked. For complete information on how to locate the sites of their burials, see < http://www.casebook.org/victims/graves.html>.

Catherine Eddowes and Mary Ann Nichols have been updated as of 2003, as part of their inclusion in a Heritage Tour guide" ("The Graves of the Canonical Victims" para 9).

This new interest in commemorating the victims' graves points to the great irony of these women's engagement with the Ripper narrative: at the same time that the Ripper subsumes their individuality and obscures their own life narratives into the larger story of his criminality, their involvement with the case is the only thing that marks them as historically significant, keeping their lives visible for well over 100 years. While the culturally-dominant Ripper narrative tends to paint each woman in broad strokes as just another faceless victim, an undifferentiated embodiment of the prostitute "type," that very narrative is the sole reason that the victims' life stories have not been entirely lost to history. In the biographies presented above, I have offered alternative narratives to the one that dominates so much of the historical and current discourse surrounding the Ripper. Instead of a narrative about female transgression and punishment, what emerges from these biographies is an illustration of the power of representational practices to at once disseminate and dissemble the "truth" of history.

Chapter Two

Turning Women into Text: The Ripper's Victims in the London Press

"One cannot emphasize too much the role of the popular press, itself a creature of the 1880s, in establishing Jack the Ripper as a media hero, in amplifying the terror of male violence, and in elaborating and interpreting the meaning of the Ripper murders to a mass audience."

– Judith Walkowitz, "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence" (546)

Introduction

In the voluminous newspaper reports that followed the five murders attributed to Jack the Ripper in the autumn of 1888, the London press produced multiple narratives of the crimes. Even when there was little factual evidence about the crimes for the papers to report, the public had a voracious appetite for news about the case, and the press happily obliged with in-depth coverage of the inquests, interviews with witnesses, speculative editorials, weighty polemics, and hundreds of letters to the editors. The case was covered extensively in every London newspaper, as well as nationally and internationally. Although public interest in the case grew less intense when the killings ceased, it never waned completely. Perry Curtis Jr. observes, "What transpired in London during the autumn of 1888 was not just a series of five sadistic murders but a serial story combining mystery and sensation-horror spread out over almost four months and cobbled together by a metropolitan press eager to boost sales" (115). I would add that it was not a single story, but rather multiple related stories, that came to light during this period – and it is in these stories that representations of Jack the Ripper and his victims were first articulated and negotiated.

As Judith Walkowitz argues, "The Ripper case, never solved, offers no closure or resolution to the problem of sexual violence and the social order that produced it . . . [T]he story gained momentum, direction and focus, but it never emerged as a unified, stable narrative" (City 201-202).[70] Coverage in each newspaper varied, as we shall see, according to each newspaper's ownership, editorial policies, political leanings, and readerships. Curtis Jr. himself, in his survey of press reports from the period, Jack the Ripper and the London Press, shows that these reports varied almost paper by paper. It is impossible to speak of a single, unified newspaper narrative of the Whitechapel murders for the simple reason that each newspaper created its own narrative, grounded (to a greater or lesser extent) on factual events and police reports, but inevitably expanded into the realm of conjecture and supposition. It is further worth noting, as does Walkowitz, that "women were significantly marginalized from the public telling of the story" (City 192). Although there was a growing number of female journalists working in London in 1888, they represented a minority of newspaper writers, and an even smaller number of editors.[71]

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[70] For example, although this dissertation is concerned mainly with the role of women in the case, another central narrative theme rendered by the press was an anti-Semitic expression of the responsibility of Jews for the crimes.

[71] Marie Belloc Lowndes, the subject of Chapter Four of this dissertation, was among this small number of professional female journalists.

Whatever stories were written about the Ripper and his crimes, very few were composed by women.

The way each newspaper chooses to present the story of the Ripper's crimes is indicative of its own political orientation. Paul B. Armstrong observes in his book Conflicting Readings: Variety and Validity in Interpretation that "Interpretation can be regarded as a political activity . . . because ways of understanding and representing the world are deployments of power or contestations of authority" (134). Since each newspaper purported to truthfully present the facts of the case, the struggle to produce the dominant interpretation of the Ripper's crimes – to control the cultural meaning of the Ripper murders – was played out in the pages of the London press throughout the Autumn of Terror. This struggle produced a series of narratives that interacted with each other to form what became the dominant cultural Ripper narrative as it coalesced over time. As Margaret Beetham argues, this is the central power of the press. She writes, "Those who owned, edited and wrote for the 19th-century periodical press had more power to define their world and 'make meanings stick' than did their readers, whose most important power was the choice of whether to buy or not" (20). In the narrative interplay between the different papers and the negotiations that followed, we can trace the first articulation and early evolution of the mode of representation that came to dominate public iterations of the Ripper story.

This chapter begins with a brief historical overview of the Victorian press, in order to provide context for the analysis that follows. It then offers a general discussion of some of the narrative strategies with which different newspapers approached the Ripper case. The bulk of the chapter, however, is comprised of the case studies that follow these preliminary sections. Each of the five case studies takes as its subject either a specific newspaper or a group of similar papers, and examines the Ripper narrative that appears in the publication at hand. In this way, the case studies illustrate the representational practices of each distinct paper, considering to what extent the victims were present in the newspaper coverage of their deaths, and how and why the different publications represented the women differently.

This dissertation is not the first to examine the construction of the press reportage of the Ripper case, although newspaper reports are a relatively recent site of scholarly interest. The seminal book on the subject, Curtis Jr.'s Jack the Ripper in the London Press, investigates "the illusions of reality purveyed by the print media" (3) during the Autumn of Terror. In order to debunk these "illusions," Curtis Jr. examines murder reports in the London press from the 1840s on, and demonstrates how the Ripper reportage relies upon preexisting journalistic conventions in its creation of the Ripper narrative. The subject of representation is as central to Curtis Jr.'s work as it is to mine; indeed, this chapter builds upon his work and would not be possible without it. However, our projects diverge at the points of methodology and focus.

Methodologically, Curtis Jr. often weaves together journalistic narratives from a number of papers within a single paragraph in order to compare and contrast their content. I have chosen to present my analysis in the form of distinct case studies. My decision is largely based upon Margaret Beetham's assertion that "Each article, each periodical number, was and is part of a complex process in which writers, editors, publishers and readers engaged in trying to understand themselves and their society; that is, they struggled to make their world meaningful" (20). In other words, each newspaper presents its own very specific world view, and must therefore be examined within its own particular context. In order to track a single publication's Ripper narrative and mode of representation, I find it most effective to examine each paper separately. In terms of focus, Curtis Jr.'s main sites of inquiry are the "bloody events" (6) themselves. He finally concludes that the Ripper becomes, in the press, a "floating signifier" (259) for

> some of the most troubling social and moral issues of the day – notably poverty and prostitution, the threat of collective violence in the East End, xenophobia and anti-Semitism, the limits of journalistic decency, and, of course, the ability of Scotland Yard to police the metropolis effectively. (253)

Although Curtis Jr. does consider the role of the female victims in the narrative as a whole – and, indeed, he questions our culture's tendency to identify with the killer rather than the victims (265) – his analysis does not extend to a sustained examination of representations of the victims themselves. This is where my project intercedes.

The Late-Victorian Press: Historical Background

The London press in the 1880s was exceedingly diverse. Lucy Brown, in her comprehensive history of the Victorian press, Victorian News and Newspapers, details how newly inclusive government educational policies increased literacy rates throughout the country. This, combined with falling newspaper prices caused by the repeal of the Stamp Act and declining paper prices, and most importantly for her, burgeoning urbanization, contributed to make the Victorian popular press increasingly accessible, available, and influential throughout the Victorian period. She observes, "by the 1880s and 1890s in England there were, all told, about 150 dailies in existence" (4), and nearly every segment of the population was able to both afford and read a paper (48).[72] Newspapers had become the chief means through which the average Londoner engaged with the world outside of his or her immediate community. Aled Jones refers to this situation as the "new information order" that radically transformed Victorian culture. He writes, "It was clear to many contemporary observers that an enormous shift had occurred in the organization and representation of social knowledge, and that a new information order had come into being which, to be rendered governable, needed to be understood" (6). The Victorian era thus saw the birth of the press as a vital, habitual, popular tool for engagement with the world at large.

Much public energy was spent studying, discussing, and understanding this new information order. Debates about the nature and moral efficacy of the popular press waxed and waned throughout the Victorian period, and the increasing influence of the working classes in the publishing market led to upper-class anxiety about social power-shifts and possible sedition and rebellion on the part of the lowest classes (often referred to in Victorian texts as "the residuum"). In the early to mid-nineteenth century, most newspapers were written for and read by "the governing classes –

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[72] A "daily" is journalistic shorthand for a newspaper that is published every day of the week; a "weekly" is published once a week, usually on Saturday or Sunday.

aristocratic, official, parliamentary, financial and commercial – and were not read, to any very considerable extent, by the public outside the charmed sphere of those governing classes" (Sala, qtd. in Lee 38). But as the century wore on, the situation began to evolve. Historian Keith Williams refers to a "newspaper explosion" (71) in the late Victorian period. He writes,

> All the groundwork had been laid. Printing techniques had improved to the point where the mass production of papers was practicable. The introduction of the telegraph and telephone accelerated the arrival of news reports. Transport systems, both on sea and land, were available to distribute daily papers on a mass basis. Education had made a majority of the population literate. A century and a half earlier the application of advertising revenue had shown how to lower the selling price and so increase circulation. (71)

All of these factors came together to open up the newspaper industry to the population at large, and the "charmed sphere" of newspaper readers began to grow.

As the lower classes became more literate, fears about the potentially socially disruptive influence of some segments of the press began to circulate.[73] Penny dreadfuls, for example, were thought by many to encourage juvenile delinquency in working-class boys.[74] As Jones explains, whatever their disagreements, commentators and pundits generally agreed that "the reading of a newspaper could affect an individual's predisposition towards loyalty or sedition, and thus tip the already precarious balance between order and disorder in the society at large" (2). The reading habits of women, similarly, were a source of much concern. The social position of Victorian women as domestic angels and upholders of morality made the question of appropriate feminine reading materials particularly fraught. If women were the foundation of a strong British Empire, and if reading materials had the power to corrupt their moral sense, then the subject of what women were reading was of the highest cultural and social importance. Jones concludes, "the belief in the power of newspapers to influence society was taken to be axiomatic among nineteenth-century journalists, authors, printers, and other stakeholders in the newspaper business" (180): it was taken for granted that newspapers wielded a large amount of social power, and that they could use this power for either positive or negative ends.

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[73] In the wake of such events as 1886's "Bloody Sunday" in Trafalgar Square – a riot of unemployed protestors in which one person died, 200 were injured and 400 arrested – such fears of violent social upheaval were common.

[74] I refer to this again in Chapter Three of this dissertation. For a more extensive examination of this sentiment, see Patrick A. Dunae's article "Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime."

As Alan J. Lee observes in his history The Origins of the Popular Press in England,

> readership was being taken more into account by those who started and ran newspapers. Proprietors were beginning to realize their dependence on advertising revenue, and realized that this revenue would in part depend upon an accurate determination of readership and circulation . . . Newspapers were bought for their news, but often what determined the choice of paper was the sort of advertisement the reader could expect to find there. (38)

As literacy rates among the working classes rose over the course of the century, newspaper proprietors began to recognize the potential of this heretofore untapped market. Newspapers aimed at segments of the reading public that had previously been ignored by the press began to proliferate in the latter half of the century, opening up the market to new advertising revenues – but also to new perspectives and ideas that often challenged those of the long-established mainstream dailies.

The relative inexpensiveness of newspaper production towards the end of the century encouraged the founding of many smaller, non-mainstream newspapers. Instead of targeting a broad cross-section of the moneyed populace (as was necessary earlier in the century for financial survival), these smaller papers were able to focus on specific geographical or demographic readerships, which also provided a highly focused potential market for their advertisers. And because they were able to sell the papers for a low price, often as low as 1 d., they were well within the financial reach of most working-class people.

Still, founding a daily newspaper was a considerable financial and logistical undertaking. Anthony Smith observes in his book The Newspaper: An International History, "A newspaper needed a dozen parliamentary reporters, six court reporters, a string of correspondents in European capitals and a small squad of leader-writers, plus provincial reporters and 'penny-a-liners' by the dozen" (144), to say nothing of the start-up costs, which were large.[75] This was beyond the reach of many proprietors desiring to found their own papers, particularly those with small prospective readerships. Such proprietors turned instead to less expensive monthly, weekly, or sometimes twice or thrice a week publication. In any case, Lee argues, "few daily newspapers were read by the poorer working classes, or even by the lower middle classes" (40). A paper published less frequently, which was therefore less of an expense for a family with little disposable income, was often more likely to find a loyal readership among the poorer classes. Instead of the expenses associated with reporting the news, these papers could simply recap and re-interpret the information other, larger publications had already reported. Although "there was always recognized to be a more or less direct relationship between the size of the capital [required to start up the paper] and the status of the project" (Lee 52), smaller publications quickly found a home in the newspaper marketplace.

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[75] Smith reports that in 1846 the Daily News required over £100,000 for start-up costs (144).

Representational Strategies: The Ripper Story in the Victorian Press

Crime reporting was a particularly contentious issue in many Victorian debates about the moral value of the press. The subject matter of crime reports was often salacious, and the methods of reportage employed by the press often highlighted the sensational aspects of crime, with an eye towards increasing circulation figures. As Anne Baltz Roderick observes, these conventions of crime reporting were themselves part of a long history of both oral and print culture:

> In the development of nineteenth-century working-class journalism, we can see the emergence of a mass reading market with identifiable tastes and increasing power over the successes or failures of mass market publications.

> Crime reports linked these new journals and newspapers to traditional modes of popular culture: the sensational aspects of the chapbook, broadside, and last dying speech literature of the eighteenth century; the scandalous journalism of the early nineteenth century. (2)

The Victorian popular press was thus significantly influenced by preexisting modes of cultural expression. Drawing on such archaic yet historically fashionable genres as chapbooks and broadsides, the press was able to both capitalize on their earlier popularity, and perpetuate many of their conventions in a new format.

Brown argues that the task of newspapers that want to remain commercially successful is to exploit pre-existing public fears in such a way as to focus them on the (sometimes unrelated) day-to-day lives of their readers. The theory is that people will buy, and continue to buy, news that is somehow linked to their own lives, even if the link is a tenuous one. Thus, in the autumn of 1888, middle- and upper-class women's near-hysterical fear of Jack the Ripper ensured that many newspapers sold thousands of extra copies, despite the fact that, as Robert Anderson himself noted, only a very small segment of the population (East End prostitutes) was likely to be at risk of actual harm from the Ripper.[76] Newspapers managed to exploit women's fear of the Ripper, often by explicitly predicting the Ripper would move out of the East End into more affluent sections of London, and by castigating women for ostensibly inviting harm through activities as innocuous as walking unescorted in the streets. While provoking fear in their women readers, the papers simultaneously targeted male readers by inviting identification with both the Ripper and his pursuers. These, and other, techniques allowed many London newspapers to spin the Ripper murders from a horrific tragedy into a financial windfall.[77]

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[76] Anderson was the Assistant Commissioner of the Criminal Investigation Department during the Ripper crisis.

The Ripper case, however, presented the press as a whole with several problems. First, the absence of an identifiable criminal agent in the case created a particular problem of interpretation for the press. Without a villain or narrative closure, any story of the case was structurally incomplete. How could the narrative move forward? Since there was little factual evidence available about the Ripper himself, the London press was forced to speculate about his identity and characteristics, often relying upon preexisting, popular narrative genres like melodrama and the Gothic.[78] As Walkowitz observes, articles about the Ripper often bear "resemblance to the literature of the fantastic: they incorporated the narrative themes and motifs of modern fantasy – social inversion, morbid psychological states, acts of violation and transgression, and descent into a social underworld" ("Myth" 550). Thus in the face of the unknown Ripper, the press fell back upon proven, popular generic strategies in order to construct coherent narratives for its readers.

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[77] Newspaper circulation rates are difficult to establish for the Victorian era because generally our only sources are the newspapers themselves; these figures are only sporadically reported and of uncertain reliability. Curtis Jr. offers, however, the representative case of the Star newspaper: "In the wake of Annie Chapman's murder, the Star's circulation soared to 261,000 copies a day, then dipped down to 190,000 in mid-September, and rose again to 217,000 during the first week of October. Rather like a crude barometer of public interest in the Ripper murders, this paper reached a new peak of 300,000 just after Mary Kelly's death" (59). These figures, he notes, were printed in the paper itself in an attempt to solicit advertisements and increase readership.

[78] Peter Brooks defines melodrama as a "fundamental bi-polar contrast and clash" (36) between good and evil. M. H. Abrams adds that typically, "the plot revolves around malevolent intrigue and violent action, while the credibility of both character and plot is sacrificed for violent effect and emotional opportunism" (110). The Gothic genre, meanwhile, focuses on "the realm of the irrational and of the perverse impulses and the nightmarish terrors that lie beneath the orderly surface of the civilized mind" (78).

A second problem for the press was that many of the salient details of the murders were too graphically sexual to print. Full details of the physical injuries of the victims were only ever printed in professional medical journals with a socially elite, male readership.[79] Every other publication felt the need to edit the murderer's crimes for popular consumption. Ostensibly for reasons of social propriety, the physical mutilations inflicted on the victims were edited out of much of the reportage surrounding their murders. Curtis Jr. explains that while violent crime was often given extensive coverage in the press, sexual violence was not. He writes, "Fleet Street had few qualms about reporting violence done to the body except when the private parts and signs of sexual activity before or after death were concerned" (216). Since the Ripper's victims were associated with deviant sexual behaviour and that the mutilations they suffered were concentrated around their genital regions, the press was forced to rely on "euphemism and elision" (216) when describing the Ripper's actions.

Perhaps the most overt and most common strategy newspapers employed in their reportage of the Whitechapel murders, however, was to focus their journalistic gaze – intensely and narrowly – on the killer, in the process constructing his character in near-heroic terms. The fact that the identity of the murderer was unknown allowed the press to speculate endlessly on who he was, what characteristics he had, how he looked, and what his motives were. Martin Fido, in A History of British Serial Killing, describes the killer as "gloriously mysterious" (45), perfectly capturing the almost heroic stature the Ripper came to possess. Although his crimes, all the papers agreed, were horrific, the boldness needed to perpetrate them and the cunning required to evade the police for so long provoked the public fascination that continues to the present day.[80] Meanwhile, coverage of the Ripper's victims tended to typecast them all simply as poverty-stricken prostitutes, degraded fallen women with few distinguishing characteristics and fewer redeeming qualities.

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[79] Specifically, these were: The Lancet and The British Medical Journal.

Another narrative strategy employed by the popular press was to insist on the foreignness of the killer. Specifically, middle- and upper-class newspapers often asserted that the criminal must be a foreign-born Jew. There was a large population of immigrant Jews in London's East End, which was accompanied with intense and sometimes violent anti-Semitism. Historian W.J. Reader reports:

> From about 1880 onward Jews, driven by persecution from their homes in Russian Poland, began to flock into London and a few other towns. During the eighties about 30,000 came, and by 1901 nearly 83,000 people from Russia or Russian Poland were living in England and Wales. These would nearly all have been Jews, who had long overtaken the Germans as the most numerous foreign community in England. They were heavily concentrated in small districts, especially the East End of London. In Stepney in 1901 there were 54,000 foreigners in a population of 200,000, and a high proportion much have been immigrant Jews. (58)

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[80] Jane Caputi argues, "the pattern laid down" by the press during "that original siege now functions as a conventionally repeated formula" (5). I will return to this argument in the Epilogue of this dissertation.

Lloyd P. Gartner, in his book The Jewish Immigrant in England, confirms, "During two centuries of Jewish history in London the East End remained the starting point for incoming Jews" (144). And as one wave of immigrants slowly saved money and moved into more prosperous neighborhoods, another moved into their East End homes. Reader writes, "one generation of poor Jewish immigrants practically displaced its predecessors not only in their synagogues and societies but also in their houses" (Reader 144-145).

This wave of immigration provided a convenient scapegoat for the London press. By casting the criminal as a racial "other," the newspapers and their readers could maintain a distance from the criminal acts.[81] The murders, then, were imported problems created by foreigners, and Britons themselves remained untainted. As Curtis Jr. argues,

> Convinced that no true Englishman could commit such savage crimes – if only because the culprit killed far too swiftly, viciously, and silently for an ordinary phlegmatic Englishman – ethnocentric readers were quick to construct a Jewish "monster" or a culprit who belonged to some other "inferior race." Resentment over the rising tide of Jewish immigrants, many of whom managed to prosper in the environs of Whitechapel, strengthened the currents of anti-Semitism. (41)

The effects for the Jewish community were disastrous. Sociologist Joseph C. Fisher reports, "Fear, ever present, began to wear away the fabric of the community, dissolving the connective bonds that held it together . . . Without provocation, Jews were attacked in the streets" (211-212). In short, the very physical safety of Jewish residents of the East End was put at risk by anti-Semitic Ripper reportage. By constructing the Ripper as a foreign Jew, higher class London newspapers thus maintained their hegemonic position of superiority over the population of Whitechapel.

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[81] This echoed the pre-existing class divisions of London itself: the wealthy West End assumed the murders to be a problem of the impoverished East End.

Many newspapers employed the narrative technique of implicating the female victims in responsibility for their own murders. Descriptions of the women killed by the Ripper, brief though they usually are, ignore the specificities of the victims, and blame the women for putting themselves in the Ripper's path. The Ripper's victims are all identified by the press, with varying degrees of accuracy and sympathy, as prostitutes. Conservative, upper-class papers often suggest that the women's choice of occupation (which as we have seen was rarely a choice at all, but rather an economic necessity) resulted in their murders. By blaming the victim, the social conditions that shaped her life can remain unquestioned. Other papers imply that the deaths of the victims are the catalyst required for the enactment of social reforms in the East End. In both cases, as Amanda Anderson argues in her book Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture, the narrative "preclude[s] the possibility of dialogical reciprocity" (141) with the victims, who become silent characters in what Anderson identifies as the "predelineated narrative" (12) of the fallen woman. In short, the Ripper's victims are actors – subject-position holders, not agents – in their own stories. Fundamentally, the writing of the Ripper narrative allows the press to assume narrative power over the victims.

Not all papers employed these narrative techniques, however, and some took opposing stances. The diversity present in Victorian cultural demographics is also represented in Victorian periodicals. Progressive women's groups, Jewish organizations, and East End community associations, among others, took issue with the Ripper narrative constructed by the large, popular press. While these groups remained tremendously interested and invested in the press coverage of the Whitechapel murders, they neither ran nor influenced a large, daily press, and their concerns did not routinely receive coverage in the larger-circulation dailies. Still, as Judith Walkowitz argues, these "diverse constituencies intervened to shape the [mainstream] media's interpretation of the Ripper crisis according to their own political agendas" (192). Local papers, especially those published in the East End, took issue with the image of their area of the city that appeared in the mainstream dailies. The East End was usually portrayed in the Ripper reportage of the popular press in a less-than-positive light, as a dark, dangerous, uncivilized pocket of savagery in the heart of London. The local papers used their own coverage of the crimes to challenge this depiction. Similarly, publications by Jewish groups and progressive women's organizations responded strongly to elements of the mainstream press's Ripper reportage that they and their readerships found objectionable. And these papers had their work cut out for them; Judith Knelman observes, "By the end of the Victorian era, gender and class bias were more evident in the press than they had been at the beginning" (35). Because none of these papers was published daily, none seeks to report breaking news. Instead, the narrative strategies these papers employ tend to focus on rebutting the Ripper narratives put forth in the popular press, while offering sympathetic portrayals of the victims. Instead of crafting original narratives, these papers respond to those already in circulation, often engaging in sophisticated media analysis in the process. The alternative papers initiate the critique of the dominant construction of the Ripper that begins in the mainstream press, but the local papers also engage in press criticism of a different sort, taking the mainstream publications to task for their unrelentingly negative representations of the East End. Each ultimately offers an alternative narrative of the crimes that challenges the dominant image presented in the mainstream press.

The case studies that follow examine the narrative of Jack the Ripper that appears in the pages of significant Victorian periodicals. They investigate the narrative strategies each paper employs, and consider the representations of the female victims advanced by each paper. While the field of Victorian journalism is vast and it is impossible to address all segments within a single chapter – or indeed, dissertation – the periodicals I have selected for case studies are representative of the larger whole. I begin with the Daily Telegraph, the largest, most popular, and arguably most influential daily newspaper in London in the 1880s. This paper is representative of the journalism of mainstream, dominant cultural values and middle- and upper-class interests. I turn then to a representative of working-class journalism, Reynolds's Newspaper, which further represents the many popular Sunday weeklies.

This section is followed by a case study of the Illustrated Police News, a publication that is focused on the single subject of crime, and that differs from the previous case studies in its extensive use of illustrations. The last two case studies detail much smaller publications, each of which is attached to a marginalized group: two East End newspapers represent local, community-based interests in the neighborhood directly affected by the Ripper's crimes, and finally, the Women's Penny Paper offers a feminine – and feminist – response to these horrific crimes against women.

Case Study: Daily Telegraph

The most popular daily in 1888 was the Telegraph, and for that reason, it is the first paper I examine in this study. As Chisholm, DiGrazia and Yost report in The News from Whitechapel: Jack the Ripper in the *Daily Telegraph*, "By the late summer of 1888, the Telegraph could boast of having the largest daily circulation in the world" (7). Average daily sales were estimated at between 250,000 and 300,000 copies; its chief rival, the Times, by comparison, sold about 50,000 copies daily. The popularity of the Telegraph was certainly the result of a combination of factors, but chief among them was price. The paper sold for a penny, while the Times' price stayed constant at three pence. In keeping with this price differential, the Times maintained an elite style and catered to the interests of its highly educated, upper-class readership, while the Telegraph became more populist and indeed developed a unique "elaborate, rounded, allusive style" that became known as "Telegraphese" (Curtis Jr. 112). Thus, although the Times (or "The Thunderer," as it was sometimes called) has been generally considered Britain's paper of record throughout its history, most late-Victorian Londoners got their news from the Telegraph, and it was the vehicle for the most widely read and culturally dominant Ripper narrative.

From its founding in 1855, the Telegraph devoted much attention to crime reportage. Even its managing proprietor during the "Autumn of Terror," Lord Harry Levy-Lawson Burnham, admitted that his paper "sometimes overdid" its crime reporting (qtd. in Curtis Jr. 90). Its coverage of the Whitechapel murders was thorough and lengthy, and due to the paper's immense circulation, it was the primary means of transmission of the facts of the case (or at least, its version of the facts of the case), to Britons as well as to the colonies and the world at large; its influence was therefore equally great in articulating and shaping the dominant cultural narrative of the Ripper's crimes. The paper's coverage consisted of the usual round of articles, interviews, editorials and letters, but it also included verbatim reports of the murder inquests, some of which stand as the only available records of the proceedings after official documents were lost (Evans and Skinner 31). These reports were sometimes edited for content, however. Surgeons' post-mortem findings were often abridged to leave out the more disturbing details of the mutilations, which were generally referred to as "abdominal" injuries. The narrative techniques employed in the Ripper reportage in the Telegraph strive to reinforce a social status quo that views the deaths of the Ripper's victims as unfortunate but necessary punishments for deviant female behaviour.

The Telegraph paints a portrait of the women murdered by Jack the Ripper that allows little room for differentiation between them and glosses over their specific life circumstances.[82] Its descriptions of them echo those found in the official police reports: an impersonal statement of height, colouring, and itemized lists of clothing. Each woman is identified early in the reportage surrounding her death as "a woman belonging to the unfortunate class" (October 1, 5), "living a gay life" (ibid), or "a woman of immoral character" (November 10, 5). The paper covers the inquests into their deaths quite extensively (even reproducing verbatim testimony on multiple occasions), and thus does print whatever statements from friends and relatives the coroner was able to solicit during the proceedings. Aside from those brief glimpses into their lives, however, the Telegraph tends to follow conventional representational practices for poor and "fallen" women. It asserts, for example, that the victims'

> appearance, the hour at which they were barbarously slain, and the obscure, sordid character of the localities in which their bodies were discovered, justify the presumption that they belonged to the class of poor and pitiable "unfortunates." (1 October, 4)

Working backwards, this report ascribes the role of prostitute to the Ripper's victims mainly because of the actions of their killer, the hour in which he chose to strike, and the locations in which he chose to leave the bodies. In this way, and even at this early stage of the Autumn of Terror, the Ripper's story began to supersede those of the victims.

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[82] Unlike Chapter One, for reasons of clarity this chapter echoes the practices of the press and follows the Ripper's actions in loosely chronological order.

The day after this statement, the Telegraph goes a step further and suggests that its blanket characterization of the Ripper's victims as undifferentiated "unfortunates" applies to all the women in the Whitechapel district. On October 2, it states:

> Notwithstanding the excitement which the [murders] have created, they have made no difference in the appearance of the streets of Whitechapel, except that there are more constables about than usual. The thoroughfares are as crowded as ever, even up to a late hour, and the same class of people as Annie Chapman and Elizabeth Stride can be seen flitting about the dark and ill-lighted alleys which abound in the district. (3)

Annie Chapman, a financially stable London wife for most of her life, and Elizabeth Stride, the daughter of a Swedish land owner and farmer, are conflated into a "class of people" in this mode of representation that draws upon Victorian conceptions of class to make these women's lives coherent to middle-class readers. The Telegraph continues with its characterization of them as prostitutes, and extends this characterization to all women appearing in public in the district. It further explicates the characterization:

> In the East-end of London there are hundreds of degraded women enduring a wretched existence, known to one another by nickname merely. Little attention is paid to their doings, or their comings and goings. If they possess the fourpence they can get a bed at a common lodging-house; if they have not the money they sleep anywhere. As many as thirty in one shed were observed

> yesterday morning. Such people can disappear from their haunts, and their departure is not noted. When wanted they cannot be found, and they seem to think more of the "price of a pint" than of any consideration of truth. (3)

These women, it seems, are all the same. They have no community connections, so no one misses them when they disappear. (In fact, as we have seen in the previous chapter, each victim had a network of community support, friends and family.) The statement that they are more interested in drinking than in helping the authorities to identify and capture the Ripper suggests that these "hundreds of degraded women" have not learned from the punishments meted out to the Ripper's victims. They continue their immoral lifestyles unabated.

The lives of the Ripper's victims are thus typecast: they are all poor prostitutes, and in the pages of the Telegraph, at least, there is little else about them worth knowing. But it is not only their lives that are melded into a "type," their deaths, too, are depicted in narratives summarizing the detailed coverage of the inquests that offer few distinguishing features. The details about the women that appear in the verbatim inquest testimony are offset by the editorial insertions that inevitably follow. In each case, the paper argues, "A woman of the lowest class was to be accosted, and she was either to be lured, or suffered to lead the way, into a dark spot; there she was to be cruelly done to death and mutilated" (October 1, 4). The construction of this summary is particularly telling; the use of passive voice avoids explicit reference to the conscious, concerted criminal activity of the murderer. *He* did not actively murder them; they simply were murdered, somehow, these women of the lowest class. This passage illustrates the sense of disposability with which the poor women of Whitechapel were regarded by the middle and upper classes. It also demonstrates the perceived pervasiveness of sexual violence: since the killer is anonymous, the danger he represents could surface anywhere, at any time.

Throughout the Telegraph's Ripper reportage, the paper makes suggestions about the responsibility of the women themselves for their own deaths. After Annie Chapman's death, for example, an article implies that Chapman's decision to live in the East End (and a conscious decision it was assumed to be), was the ultimate cause of her death. It states, "In these squalid parts of the metropolis aggravated assaults, attended by flesh wounds from knives, are frequently met with" (September 10, 3). Surely Annie was aware of the danger, and should have been able to avoid it? It adds that "men and women become accustomed to scenes of violence" (*ibid*), further suggesting that events such as Annie's murder cannot be considered unexpected, given the environment in which they occur. In sum, Annie bears some measure of responsibility for her own murder, simply because she made her home in the East End.[83] Walkowitz refers to this as the "argument from geography" (City 195). She writes, "as a sign of racial and class otherness, Whitechapel became a dreaded name, the East End Murderland, infamous throughout the world" (City 195). In short, the Telegraph described the East End almost as a traveler would describe foreign lands.[84]

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[83] The Ripper himself seems to be unaffected by the negative taint of the East End; the article almost admiringly explains that "with so much cunning was the horrifying deed carried out that apparently no clue would seem to have been left which may serve to unearth the criminal" (September 10, 3).

[84] Indeed, in the late Victorian period a number of books were published by upper and middle class men who traveled through the poorer areas of London and returned to write travelogue-type memoirs of their adventures. The first and perhaps most notable is Henry Mayhew's London Labour and the

It thus distanced itself from what it perceived as the chaos of the East End, constructing the district as its own country, separate from the civilized West of the city. The high numbers of immigrants living in the East End promulgated this construction. Walkowitz confirms, "the press tried to stigmatize Whitechapel as a place apart" (City 195). By overstating the differences between the two areas of the city, and by creating a vast metaphorical distance between them, the Telegraph could thereby distance itself and its readers from any sense of collective, social responsibility for the many problems related to poverty in the East End.

As for the killer himself, the Telegraph insists on his foreignness. The first description of a possible Ripper suspect appears on September 18, in an article on the third session of the inquest into Mary Ann Nichols' death: "Witness described the man as 5 ft. 8 in. high, about thirty-five years of age, with a dark moustache and whiskers. He wore a double-peaked cap, a short dark brown jacket, and a pair of clean white overalls over dark trousers . . . He had a fearful look about the eyes. He seemed to be a mechanic" (September 18, 2). Notable in this description (and prescient of the Telegraph coverage that was to follow) are the prevalence of the word "dark," which appears thrice in two sentences, and the working-class identification of the suspect. Further, the juxtaposition of white overalls and dark trousers is a striking image of a white, clean, innocent façade concealing a darker purpose.[85] The paper also provides a witness description of a suspect at the inquest into the next murder, that of Annie

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London Poor (1851), but the genre continued to be popular at least until 1933 when George Orwell published his version of the genre, Down and Out in Paris and London.

[85] The innocent image disguising a more sinister reality was a common literary trope of the late-Victorian period. Examples include The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1886), and The Picture of Dorian Gray (1890).

Chapman. On September 20, the paper reports witness Elizabeth Long's testimony that she saw the deceased woman in conversation with a man shortly before her death. She says, "I did not see the man's face, but I noticed that he was dark. . . . He looked like a foreigner. . . . I should say he looked like what I should call shabby-genteel" (September 20, 2). By this time, the description of any Ripper suspect as "dark" and "foreign" had become standard in most London newspapers, and continued to be a staple of Telegraph coverage.

On October 1, the paper describes a suspect seen the night of the crime as having a "dark complexion," but a "respectable appearance." By October 5, several men had been arrested and released, implicated in the crimes, the paper suggests, by markers of foreignness. One man, detained by police for allegedly threatening a woman in a public house, raised further suspicion when, "in [his] cell he became defiant, and with an American accent frequently used the word 'boss,' contained in the letter of 'Jack the Ripper'" (3). The man was released upon regaining sobriety. In another case, a man was put under arrest by a Sergeant because he

> bore some resemblance to the individual who was last seen in the company of the murdered woman in Berner-street. The stranger volunteered the information that he was a Scandinavian, and was about to sail for America, but the officer, deeming his conduct suspicious, marched him to the police-station." (3)

Again, the man was quickly released with no charges laid against him. Each of these incidents highlights the scrutiny under which East End residents lived during the

Autumn of Terror. Any physical, linguistic or social markers labeling individuals as "foreign" put them at social disadvantage and even at personal risk of arrest or persecution.

As the Telegraph's coverage continued, suspects, locations, and even victims are all vigorously characterized as foreign. Elizabeth Stride's case is a strong example, in part because of her foreign birth. Her murder took place in Berner Street beside a building housing the International Working Men's Education Society, which, the paper tells us, "is affiliated with the foreign section of the Socialist's League, and which, though some Englishmen are enrolled as members, consists largely of foreign Jews" (October 1, 5). The paper reports that this society often conducts its business in German – as if it functions as a piece of foreign land within the heart of central London. The neighbourhood itself, we are told, is inhabited by working-class families, "mostly Poles and Germans" (5). Consequently, most of the witnesses identified by the police and press are described by national, ethnic and religious difference from the presumed British mainstream. One is "Joseph Lave – a Russian Jew," another is "Isaac Kozebrodski, a Polish Jew" (5). Each name is attached to a national and religious signifier, and in each case, the foreignness of the witness is highlighted. Further, the victim herself is also identified as foreign. Dr. Blackwell, who was summoned by the police to examine the body where it lay in Berner Street, made an immediate statement that "It did not appear to him that the woman was a Jewess; she was more like an Irishwoman" (5). In fact, as my biography of Stride shows, she was Swedish, but she had lived in London for 22 years – a fact that the Telegraph failed to report.

As for the bodies of the victims, the Telegraph edited its reports on their conditions as it deemed necessary. For example, reporting on Mary Jane Kelly's body, the paper states:

> The body of the woman was stretched on the bed, fearfully mutilated. Nose and ears had been cut off, and, although there had been no dismemberment, the flesh had been stripped off, leaving the skeleton. The nature of the other injuries was of a character to indicate that they had been perpetrated by the author of the antecedent crimes in the same district. (November 10, 5)

The paper insists that no dismemberment had occurred, when in fact, several body parts were cut off and removed. (Her breasts, for example, were found on the table beside her bed.) Although it does not describe the details of the mutilations, the Telegraph does attempt to read the body for clues about the killer. We are not told "the nature of the other injuries," but must trust the reporter that the main importance of Mary Jane Kelly's body is what it can reveal about the Ripper.

Case Study: Reynolds's Newspaper

In the year 1888, Reynolds's Newspaper was one of London's two top Sunday newspapers. Its circulation far surpassed even the venerable Telegraph's (Curtis Jr. 58). As Curtis Jr. notes, "by combining lurid stories of death and disaster with summaries of political and economic events in a reader-friendly format, and by lowering prices to a penny, the Sunday press proved a roaring commercial success" (58). Reynolds's political agenda, in line with that of its founder George Reynolds (who began publishing the paper in 1850), is proclaimed in a banner headline beneath its title each issue: "Government of the People, by the People, for the People." Its progressive and radical sympathies appealed, as Curtis Jr. notes, to the skilled working class (110). The weekly Reynolds's provides a potent mixture of socialist political leanings, huge popularity, and a working-class readership that offers a unique perspective on the Ripper case.

The coverage of the Ripper murders in Reynolds's Newspaper is in keeping with the paper's socialist political agenda. While the victims themselves are no more present in this newspaper than they are in the Telegraph, Reynolds's Newspaper uses their deaths for very different political ends. Each woman is designated an "unfortunate," and the paper does allot significant column space to coverage of the inquests. Editorially, however, the narrative the paper creates follows an instructive trajectory, first aligning itself with the working classes (who comprised the majority of Reynolds's readership), then distancing itself from the victims (who, it agrees, bear some responsibility for their own deaths), and finally using the deaths of the victims to agitate for better conditions for the poor working classes.

Early on in the crisis, in mid-September, the paper repeatedly stresses the social conditions that might lead to murders of this sort. The most culpable party in these deaths, the paper argues, is actually the city of London itself. London, in many ways, *is* Jack the Ripper, attacking and destroying the vulnerable lower-working classes that inhabit it. An early editorial on the murders, “Horrible London,” argues:

> ‘Society’ must be told, and told in words of thunder, that it bears within its very bosom the seeds of its own destruction. The grandeur of the West-end of London could not exist but for the poverty-stricken degradation of the East-end . . . The truth is, our whole society is based on a foundation of colossal injustice, fraud, and robbery, and the longer it contrives to subsist, the more terrible from day to day will be the yawning fissures describable in its tottering fabric. (September 16, 1)

These horrible murders – which the editorial raises without even referring to the victims – are simply symptoms of that fissure. London residents thus suffer from the “infinite sorrows of hunger, homelessness, prostitution, and murder” (1), and while Reynolds’s professes sympathy for those living with the “infinite sorrows” London so readily provides, it also places the occupation of several of the murdered women on par with the actions of their killer. Prostitution and murder are listed consecutively, associating victim with killer in a list that suggests the victims themselves bear responsibility for their deaths.[86]

The next issue of the paper prints a poem with a similar sentiment. Leonard Wells’ “The East End Horror” is reproduced on the second page; addressed to London’s upper-class elites, it takes as its theme the social conditions in the East End that it argues produced the phenomenon of Jack the Ripper.

> Ye have striven to hush the outcast throng who cried

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[86] This editorial also participates in a larger cultural narrative of urban degeneration, in which the rapid urbanization of the English population is seen as a symptom of British decline.

in their anguish for bread,
And still in our hearts there lingers the wail for our
murdered dead.
Scarcely we deem you have pity, but gaze on *this*
blood's red hue –
Ye *shall* gaze and list our reproaches as we charge the
blame upon *you*.

. . .

And so, 'mid the brooding darkness, stalks murder with
baleful mien:
Rich man, stay from your folly, gaze on your
Frankenstein!
Do you dream you can keep him ever here in the squalid
East?
Have you never a fear lest his face may peer 'mid the
flowers of your life-long feast?

(September 23 p.2)[87]

This poem explicitly blames London's upper-classes for creating, like Mary Shelly's Dr. Frankenstein, a murderous monster. The reference to a canonically Gothic novel serves to reinforce the Ripper's engagement with that genre, but it also introduces a note of sympathy into its characterization of the monster/murderer. Frankenstein's monster is not unsympathetic; rather he is a lonely, misunderstood, and mistreated social outcast, driven to murder by his pain. This comparison makes an effective point for the socialist newspaper, implying that if the murderer is indeed working class (as many West End papers alleged), he does not bear responsibility for his actions; rather, the social conditions created by the economic elite caused the problem in the first place. The comparison also underscores the masculinist nature of this socialist perspective, which advocates for equality among men without considering the positions of women. Indeed it invites sympathy for, and identification with the monster/murderer who, after all, may not bear total responsibility for his crimes. Further, in the entire eight stanza poem, there is just one reference (in line 4) to the "murdered dead" – who are not specified as female. The remainder refers to the miseries of the "serfs," the "labourer's galling chain," and the "weary poor." The victimization of the women killed by Jack the Ripper is transferred into the victimization of the entirety of the poor classes by the ruling upper classes.

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[87] For full text, see facsimile in Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 4.

The poem concludes by intimating that the East End horror cannot be contained: the contagion is in danger of spreading to other parts of London, as well.[88] This is a theme that the paper picks up on several subsequent occasions. On October 7, for example, it reports that "The terror which has paralyzed the east of London seems now to be spreading to the south" (1). With its overt goal of radically altering the attitudes and practices of London's ruling classes, Reynolds's Newspaper uses the threat represented by the murders to attract public attention. It goes on to describe an incident in the West End: "An attempted woman murder has been made by an individual answering in many respects to the description given of the Whitechapel murderer" (ibid). While the incident in question bears little resemblance to the Ripper murders (in fact, the victim was not even killed), Reynolds's manipulates its reportage to connect it to the more infamous crimes. The paper suggests that the women of the West End should not consider themselves safe, just because they live in a more affluent area of London – it is therefore in their personal best interests to pay attention to the problems of the East End.

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[88] The trope of contagion – the danger posed by the poor to the wealthier inhabitants of London – was preexistent, and was particularly prevalent during the cultural debates surrounding the Contagious Diseases Acts (see Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society).

Reynolds's Newspaper – unsurprisingly, given its socialist political agenda – places little confidence in the abilities of the police to capture the criminal. As the enforcers of the laws and policies of the ruling classes, the police come in for scathing criticism throughout the Ripper reportage. On September 16, an editorial opines,

> We are surfeited with horrors. We, metaphorically speaking, breakfast, luncheon, dine, and sup on human blood and viscera. And all the while the murderer or murderers stalk about in our midst with impunity . . . The police at the moment of writing are as far from any clue to the perpetrator or perpetrators of the abominations as ever. They are simply helpless, and, in a measure, childish, in their endeavours to get on the track of the Whitechapel ghoul . . . Their promptitude in "running in" harmless Socialist speakers, and breaking the heads of respectable workmen in Trafalgar-square, is certainly a

> singular commentary on their total inefficiency in dealing with the worst imaginable form of the outrage.[89] (1)

The somewhat strange metaphorical positioning of the "we" the editorial claims to speak for is that of an entity that eats the human gore produced by the murders. This description, with its heightened emotionality and macabre metaphor, suggests a mode of Gothic sensationalism intended to appeal to the emotions of the reader. Does "we" refer only to the newspaper writers and editors, who are forced to report on the bloody killings? Or does it imply a linguistic union between writer and reader, thus implicating the reader in the paper's continuing appropriation of the murders of the women for its own political motives? In either case, this passage takes the murders of the Ripper's victims and transfers that physical danger into a danger faced by "harmless" Socialists – that is, the readership of this paper.

The portrait of the Ripper that emerges in Reynolds's Newspaper, too, is very much in keeping with the paper's progressive political and social agenda. The killer himself, the paper insists in nearly every relevant article, must be a madman, for no sane person could or would mutilate the bodies of the victims to such an extent. It both accepts and propagates the theory of Dr. Forbes Winslow, whom it quotes as saying that the murderer is "a lunatic suffering from homicidal monomania, who during the lucid intervals is calm and forgetful of what he has been doing in the madness of his attack" (November 11, 8). His definition of the homicidal lunatic, which the paper printed in September, also highlighted the potential for a deceptively sane façade: "Homicidal lunatics are cunning, deceptive, plausible, and, on the surface, to all outward appearance, sane; but there is contained within their innermost nature a dangerous lurking after blood, which, though at all times latent, will develop when the opportunity arises" (September 21, 1). This almost Gothic description is echoed by the paper's repeated use of words like "ghoul," "monster," and "fiend" to characterize the murderer as somehow other-than-human. As a paper purporting to represent the inhabitants of the East End, Reynolds's Newspaper is unable to displace the murders into another locale, as the Telegraph does. Instead, it suggests that the killer is a monster hiding in human form – not just foreign, but actually inhuman.[90]

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[89] This is a reference to "Bloody Sunday:" on 18 November, 1887, an uprising of unemployed working class men attempted to demonstrate in Trafalgar Square. The police responded violently to put down the riot (Walkowitz, City 28).

The class of the suspect depicted in Reynolds's Newspaper appears to be somewhat above that of the majority of the paper's working-class readership, something that is, again, in keeping with the paper's general distrust of upper-class authority. In an October 7 article, a suspect is described as "decently dressed," having "the appearance of a clerk" (5). He "spoke as an educated man would," and was of "respectable appearance" (5). Each of these descriptions places the suspect outside the lower and working classes, but, by repeatedly stressing the appearance of class, they all highlight the constructed nature of the class system itself. The suspect *appears* respectable; the implication, again, is that appearance can be deceiving. Further, the paper reports on another attempted murder in Whitechapel, which it assumes to be a foiled attempt by the Ripper, and describes the perpetrator as

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[90] This comprises another narrative resonance with The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

"dressed in a dark suit, with a low, round black felt hat. His hand was as soft as a woman's, and he is said to have the appearance of a clerk rather than of a workman" (October 7, 8). This description again emphasizes the appearance of the suspect and simultaneously invokes elements of the complex relationship between gender and class. The ostensibly effeminate pursuits of the upper classes, who do not participate in manual labour, mark them as suspicious to the working classes.

Reynolds's Newspaper may align itself with the working classes, but it has little to say about the class of women apparently targeted by the Ripper. "How many Nichollses and Champans," it asks, must die before social change occurs? (September 16, 1). It goes on to make the rather obvious observation that "the victims in each case being women" (September 30, 1), females seemed to be particularly at risk. Indeed, at times the paper appears confused in its understanding of the lives of the women the Ripper killed. Reporting on Mary Jane Kelly's murder, the paper writes that "The victim of this monstrous outrage belonged to the very lowest class" (November 11, 5). In fact, Kelly occupied a private room, and was therefore in a better economic situation than the other women, who moved between workhouses and doss houses. She was certainly of a low class, but could not accurately be called the "lowest" – Reynolds's Newspaper misrepresents her class position, perhaps to reinforce its representation of her as a wretched and degraded woman. This article somewhat inexplicably goes on to discuss the many doss houses in the East End, although Kelly was not using their services at the time of her death. It states, "The people who find shelter in these lodging-houses are generally of the lowest class, and it is a somewhat curious fact that the majority of them are women" (ibid). Having made this "curious" point, the article offers no follow up on the notion that women were particularly vulnerable to poverty and violence.

Case Study: Illustrated Police News

The Illustrated Police News was founded in 1863, and was published every Saturday. It cost one penny. As a paper that mixed an illustrated front page with subsequent pages of text, it is a different type of publication than either of the previous two. Curtis Jr. describes it concisely as an example of "pictorial sensationalism" (69), noting that "while editors of the elite papers kept their eyes peeled for unusual crimes or major disasters, they tried to spare their more sensitive readers the grimmest details of violent death" (69). The Illustrated Police News, on the other hand, provided some of this information in graphic detail. Although its sketches avoided close-ups of actual injuries, whatever the front page omitted was explained in text, in full detail, in the articles within. While most other popular newspapers of the day were very text-focused and included pictures, sketches, and other visuals only occasionally, this newspaper's first page was always entirely devoted to illustrations of the stories within. This allowed the paper to stand out in a newspaper market that contained few other illustrated publications. Indeed, as Lucy Brown argues, other newspapers of this era "did not try to enlarge the range of their readers by the use of illustrations" (30), leaving this and a very few other illustrated papers to develop their own niche market. The nature of the readership of the

Illustrated Police News is a matter of some debate. Historians and scholars of the Victorian press often assume that the incredible growth in newspaper consumption in the decades following 1870 is attributable, as Lucy Brown argues, to the increasing literacy rates of the population. If this is indeed the case, the Illustrated Police News and other papers of its ilk can be seen as holdovers from a less literate age, or descendants of illustrated broadsheets intended for a population largely unable to read. However, the illustrations in this paper, alongside the textual explanations within it, provide some of the most explicit representations of the women killed by Jack the Ripper, and most sophisticated analysis of the Ripper's crimes.

The Illustrated Police News devotes the entire first page of every issue to illustrations of the articles within. These images raise questions about the ways in which images create meanings, how images become illustrations, the ways illustrations are different from text, and the ways they interact with text. This is a vast field of academic inquiry, which I can only briefly discuss here.[91] As Julia Thomas reminds us in a specifically Victorian example:

> Victorian illustration was never the stable, unified practice that such a classification implies. It is easy to lose sight of the extraordinary diversity that characterizes the illustration of texts in the mid-nineteenth century, to forget that the label 'illustration' encompasses a variety of publications, all with different pictorial conventions … as well as different mechanisms of reproduction (wood, copper and steel engraving, etching, aquatint, mezzotint,

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[91] For a more in-depth discussion of the field of Victorian illustration, see Catherine J. Golden's Book Illustrated: Text, Image, and Culture 1770-1930.

> lithography, photography), not to mention the different styles adopted by individual artists. (4)

Like the wide-ranging and varied field of Victorian periodical publishing, the field of Victorian illustration is difficult to define and even more difficult to accurately describe. To begin, every illustration is comprised of an image that interacts with a text. As J. Hillis Miller asks in his book Illustration, "Both text and image are something seen with the eyes and made sense of as a sign. What, in fact, is the difference between reading a word and making sense of a picture?" (73). The Oxford English Dictionary defines "text" as "written or printed work regarded in terms of content rather than form," and as "the main body of a book or other piece of writing, as distinct from appendices, illustrations, etc." Text is thus defined in opposition to illustration. An image, as John Berger argues in Ways of Seeing, is "a sight which has been recreated or reproduced. It is an appearance, or a set of appearances, which has been detached from the place and time in which it first made its appearance and preserved – for a few moments or a few centuries." He adds, "Every image embodies a way of seeing" (9-10), meaning that the perspective of the painter, sketcher, engraver, photographer, or other artist is always embedded in the image itself. The "sight" or image the artist chooses to represent is never a neutral selection, but is always an extension of the artist (and sometimes publication) in question.

An illustration, however, is something of a hybrid, existing in the ephemeral space between image and text, both bridging the gap between them, and emphasizing their disjuncture. Thomas explains that the popular Victorian view of the nature of illustration "was that pictures should not add to or detract from the text, but should reproduce it, providing a mirror image or transcription of the words" (13).[92] However, more recent art critics have disputed this claim. Berger offers an instructive example using the work of Van Gogh. In Ways of Seeing he reproduces the painting "Wheatfield with Crows" on one page, and on the next he reproduces it again with the caption, "This is the last picture that Van Gogh painted before he killed himself." He then observes, "It is hard to define exactly how the words have changed the image but undoubtedly they have. The image now illustrates the sentence" (28). The meaning of an illustration comes not from the image, nor from the text, but from the interplay between the two. As Miller argues, "What is needed is the ability to read not just pictures and words separately, but the meaning and forces generated by their adjacency" (9). In other words, for a full understanding of Van Gogh's painting, it is necessary to view the picture, read the words, and then examine the meaning produced by the interplay between the two. The Illustrated Police News therefore requires careful study, accompanied by a mode of analysis that takes into consideration the relationship between text and image that creates the meaning of each illustration. Ultimately, Thomas concludes that meanings "are made in the interaction between word, image, and viewer, and it is this interaction that allows for multiple interpretations, the spectators bringing their own cultural assumptions to bear on representations that are themselves culturally constituted" (12-13). Meaning, in other words, is always unstable.

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[92] This echoes the newspaper-as-mirror-to-society theory of journalism popular in the Victorian era. For further discussion, see articles by Lyn Pykett and Margaret Beetham in Investigating Victorian Journalism, edited by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, Lionel Madden.

Curtis Jr. argues that the popularity of the Illustrated Police News was rooted in the specifically visual mode of meaning-making the paper could offer. He writes, "since the newspapers carried no photographs of the victims' bodies lying in the morgue . . . male readers were denied the intense voyeuristic pleasure provided by the police camera, and had to settle instead for what they saw in crude prints published by the *Illustrated Police News*" (214). Borrowing a term from gender theorist Laura Mulvey, Curtis Jr. argues that the graphic images of the victims' bodies printed in large-scale on the covers of the paper engaged the spectator in a form of scopophilic pleasure. Mulvey herself defines scopophilia as "pleasure in looking" (160), and adds that in a patriarchal society, women are caught up in a scopophilic system of representation in which woman is "bearer, not maker of meaning" (159). Curtis Jr. observes, "the burden of sexual repression in the Victorian era meant that every part of the female body was sexualized and therefore constituted an object of desire" (214). Images of women, then, in Victorian newspapers, must be read as politically-charged, with the potential to implicate the reader (or gazer) in their objectification. From this perspective, readers of the Illustrated Police News, presumably particularly those who approach the paper with a sense of scopophilic delight, are aligned in some way with the criminal who victimized these women in the first place. Certainly, the Illustrated Police News is often particularly harsh on the victims of the crimes, and associates itself constantly with the police and investigators of the case.[93] The paper provides a fairly overt preferred reading: we are to examine the cases through the eyes of the police, the representatives of law and order, and take from our reading an educational moral about the dangers of London and the vulnerability of women. In the Illustrated Police News, as we shall see, the apparent centrality and importance of the Ripper's victims in the publication's illustrations belie their often negative representations within the text of the paper itself.

The first mention of the Whitechapel murders in the Illustrated Police News occurs in the September 8 edition, under the headline "Revolting and Mysterious Murder of a Woman – Buck's Row Whitechapel."[94] This story receives the centre third section of the front page. In a layout that will become common in the following months, the body of the murdered woman is depicted lying in a casket in the centre of the page. She is surrounded by scenes from the investigation and inquest, and by portraits of people involved in the case: the coroner, surgeon, constables and inspectors. In this pictorial representation, the crime is organized around the recumbent, passive body of the female victim, and there is no mention made of the killer. It is as if the dead body of the victim is self-explanatory. Highlighting this arrangement, the remainder of the front page is taken up with illustrations of four other unrelated violent crimes. In each case (and in stark contrast to the Whitechapel illustration), the illustration depicts the moment of attack itself. The criminal appears to be attacking the victim, who is always still alive and resistant. The unique passivity of the Ripper victim is thus emphasized, and the lack of an illustration of the murderer is noticeable. Even in the text of the story on the second page of the paper, the sole reference to the killer is that police have discovered "no positive clue to the perpetrator of the crime" (September 8, 2). The report on the victim's injuries, however, is lengthy and in-depth. This unique construction of the victims, focusing as it does on their dead and passive bodies, suggests that any resistance to the power of the Ripper is impossible; the very identity of each woman is overpowered by her victimization at the hands of her killer.

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[93] This association between the paper and the police is so strong that as the case wore on and no progress was made in catching the criminal, the paper deems it "humiliating to acknowledge" the apparent ineptitude of the police (November 3, 2), taking the police's failure very personally indeed.
[94] This illustration reproduced in the Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 5.

On September 15, the Illustrated Police News allots two thirds of its front page to the Whitechapel crimes. The coverage is comprised of a series of twelve small vignettes of incidents, places and people related to the most recent murder, that of Annie Chapman. Perhaps most significantly, the central figure on the page (although still much smaller than the body of the victim in the previous weeks' edition) is a suspect being arrested "on suspicion" by a constable.[95] The illustrated individual is somewhat generic: a bearded, angry-looking man wearing working-class clothing. The text on the following page, however, identifies this suspect as the famous "Leather Apron," a man who reportedly terrorized Whitechapel prostitutes in the months before the murders. The Illustrated Police News follows the rest of the London press in associating the arrested suspect as "John Piser,"[96] and offers the following description: "He is a Jew" (September 15, 2). However unlike many of the other papers, this publication emphasizes the reported "good character" of Pizer, and the fact that he was "by no means strong, as some time ago he was seriously injured" (ibid). It quickly dismisses him as a viable suspect.

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[95] This illustration reproduced in the Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 6.

[96] His name was properly spelled "Pizer."

The next edition of the Illustrated Police News again focuses on Annie Chapman's murder, and although it is not a new crime, it devotes approximately the same amount of space to the case as it did the previous week. In the centre of the front page, facing each other, are two portraits of Annie Chapman, before and after death (September 22, 1).[97] Two small wounds on her cheek and a grimace on her face appear to be the only differences. Surrounding her are scenes from the crime itself, and the subsequent investigation. Again, the focus is on the victim, and the only mention of a Ripper suspect is in a catalogue of the Whitechapel response to the crimes. One panel shows a group of women carrying guns and knives: "Ready for the Whitechapel fiend, women secretly armed," reads the caption. Another focuses on an alternate response, in which various men claim to be the criminal. The panel shows a well-dressed man running from the Tower subway gate holding a knife. He exclaims, "This will do for them!!" The caption beneath wonders, "Is he the Whitechapel murderer?" (September 22, 1). Again, there is no clear characterization of the murderer in this report; the suggestion seems to be that almost any man could assume that subject position. Indeed, in the article that follows, more suspect descriptions are dismissed than advanced, sometimes for comedic value. A vignette from the inquest reports a suspect's incredulity: "I object to the whole thing. Me murder a woman! I couldn't murder a cat. (Laughter)" (September 22, 2).[98] The overall impression left by the September 22 edition of this paper is rather light-hearted and almost jovial. This, combined with the non-specific male subject position of the presumed murderer is a somewhat chilling reminder of the vulnerability of the Ripper's victims: their murders were not always seen as serious crimes, and their killer could be nearly anyone.

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[97] This illustration reproduced in the Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 7.

With no fresh Ripper news by the next edition, September 29, coverage in the Illustrated Police News begins to dwindle. The one-third page illustration on the first page reenacts "The terrible tragedy of Annie Chapman's life," focusing again entirely on the victim.[99] The central panel, again, consists of an illustration of the victim's body. This time she is lying in the street, tended by a doctor who is "pronouncing life extinct." The scenes from Chapman's life the paper chooses to illustrate all show her in rather disadvantageous situations: sitting with a man in her lodging house, quarrelling in the streets with another woman, and talking in the street "with a foreign looking man" (September 29, 1). Notably, there are no scenes from her early, happy life, no mention of her husband John, nor of her children. She is shown only in the context of poverty and degradation. The "terrible tragedy" of Chapman's life, according to this paper at least, is not her gradual, inevitable fall into poverty – but simply the fact of her existence.

The article within the paper covers the inquest into Mary Anne Nichols' death, and although the information it imparts reproduces much of the coverage of other major London newspapers, this paper repeats and emphasizes the condemnatory tone of the cover illustrations. Its representations of the victims set it apart from the other papers: the women, in the Illustrated Police News, are rarely offered the sympathetic epithet of "unfortunate" that appears so regularly in other papers. The September 29 article, for example, describes the coroner's statement summing up the character of the deceased as follows:

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[98] This incident is not reported in the other major London newspapers.
[99] This illustration reproduced in Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 8.

> She was of intemperate habits and left her husband eight years ago on account of drink. He had not seen or heard of her for three years. She had evidently formed irregular connections, but still lived under her father's roof for three or four years, and then, either to avoid the restraints of a settled home, or in consequence of her own misconduct, she left her father, who had not seen her for more than two years. From that time until her death it is pretty clear that she had been living an intemperate, irregular and vicious life, mostly in the horrid common lodging houses in this neighbourhood. (September 29, 2)

Nichols is not portrayed as a victim of poverty, or even as a misguided "unfortunate." She is an active agent in her own destruction. Characterizations of the Ripper are non-existent on the cover of this edition, and remarkably scant within its pages. It is as if the victim's lifestyle (which, the paper implies, is entirely her choice) is in fact her true killer. But unlike Reynolds's Newspaper, the Illustrated Police News does not impart social responsibility for the misery of her life; instead, it blames the victim for her own lot in life.

The lead article in the October 6 edition of the paper, following the "double event," offers several possible motives for the killings, all based on popular psychological and criminological theories of the day, and all backed up with references to apparent authorities. The first theory is attributed to Dr. George Savage. "Homicidal mania," the article states, "has as its only characteristic a thirst for blood" (October 6, 2). The criminal, then, may be suffering from a mental illness. Someone named "Professor Benedikt, of Vienna," contends: "The murderous tendency is developed in some animals as well as in the human species. There are cases, particularly among the higher animals, in which a senseless and causeless passion for the destruction of life has been manifested. . . . The brains of murderers resemble in their conformation those of ferocious beasts" (ibid). The final of the three possible theories suggested by this article is epilepsy, which it claims exerts an "uncontrollable influence" over its sufferers, occasionally to murder.[100] These three possibilities – mental illness, physical degeneration to animal type, and physical illness – all share the fact that they distance the murderer from the 'normal' Londoner, who is not afflicted by these exceptional conditions. The paper does not espouse one of the three theories it advances, but argues, "The apparently purposeless character of the crimes . . . goes far to suggest that their perpetrator – assuming for the moment that there has been but one perpetrator – is really one of these unhappy creatures" (ibid). Although the Illustrated Police News claims the crimes are purposeless, it in fact goes to great lengths to invest them with purpose. The Ripper narrative, in these pages, is a conservative and cautionary tale about the dangers women encounter when they step outside of the safety of their socially prescribed gender roles.

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[100] A common Victorian-era misunderstanding of the nature and effects of the disorder.

The next murder did not occur until November 9, but events in Whitechapel continued to receive significant coverage in the Illustrated Police News, as in other London newspapers. The October 13 edition, for example, offers little substantive new information, but devotes three quarters of its front page to the crimes committed by "The Monster of Whitechapel." An advertisement on the fourth page of the paper, set apart from the text of the articles contained on the page, suggests the motive for the sustained press interest in the case.[101] The advertisement runs:

> The Horrible Murders in Whitechapel
> Next Week's (October 20th)
> Illustrated Police News
> Will contain further Full page Illustrations of those
> Fearful Tragedies
> Scenes, Views, Sketches, and Photos by artists engaged especially. (4)

The advertisement's emphasis on visual representation is perhaps not surprising in an illustrated publication, but it does call to mind again Mulvey's formulation of scopophilia. Readers are promised the "pleasure in looking" (160) in future editions – and this pleasure is multiple. Not mere illustrations, but "Scenes," "Views," "Sketches," and "Photos" are all forthcoming to tantalize the reader's sensibility. While the first three items on the list are fairly synonymous, the promised photographs never appeared. Further, the promise of work by "artists engaged especially" suggests that the newspaper is attempting to legitimize its own exploitation of the crimes for financial gain. Ripper news, even when there is nothing new about it, is clearly effective enough at selling papers to make it an advertising strategy in itself. The Illustrated Police News was not subtle in its exploitation of this fact. This ad was repeated several times in the next two months.

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[101] See a complete reproduction of the advertisement in Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 9.

From the October 20 edition on, the paper begins to print illustrations of suspected murderers. There are two sketches of different "supposed murderers" on the front page of the October 20 edition, and although they appear in a column entitled "The History of the Last Victims of the Mysterious Monster of the East End" (October 20, 1), they are the central figures on the page – once again displacing the stories of the victims with those of the killer.[102] Both are depicted as angry-looking characters, and both illustrations contain markers of "foreignness" on the suspects' features: one conforms to the stereotypical (and anti-Semitic) Victorian characterization of Jews;[103] the other has coarse features, ostensibly indicating a degenerate nature. The "otherness" of these suspects is visibly apparent on their faces. Despite this physical marking, the fact that the two suspects are markedly different from each other highlights the uncertainty of their identification as suspects at all. Even clear illustrations of possible Rippers is not enough to fix the identity of the criminal in the pages of the Illustrated Police News.

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[102] This illustration reproduced in Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 10.

[103] Jamie Mandac describes a common Victorian anti-Semitic portrayal of Jews: they are "greedy, money-hungry individuals who all possess hooked noses . . . [They also] have poor educations and as a result speak broken English" (1).

This edition of the paper also offers two new motives that further explicate various characterizations of the Ripper. Each of these motives additionally casts the murders as a foreign problem playing out on British soil, again highlighting the distance between the average reader and those involved with these crimes. The first suggested motive is a common, Gothic legend about "thieves' candles," made from human fat, which supposedly send anyone they illuminate into deep sleep, allowing time for the thieves to do their work. The paper suggests that the Ripper's victims may have been killed in order to procure materials to make these candles, and backs up this seemingly incredible suggestion by citing various books and experts, combining a rather fanciful Gothic notion with scientific (or at least sociological) authoritative evidence. The use of thieves' candles, the paper concludes, "prevails among German thieves" (October 20, 2). The second motive, unique to this paper, conforms to the paper's tendency to allocate the victims a measure of blame in their own murders – to align, in other words, victim and perpetrator.[104] It is a report from a British sailor about a "Malay cook" staying in London. According to this sailor, "the Malay said he had been robbed by a woman of bad character, and unless he found the woman and recovered his money he would murder and mutilate every Whitechapel woman he met" (*ibid*). The perpetrator is explicitly identified as a foreigner. The report itself, we are told, has arrived in a "telegram from New York," further distancing the story itself: an American source identifies a Malaysian suspect operating on British soil to punish women who had legitimately wronged him. The fault, in this scenario, lies with foreigners and the victims.

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[104] In my research to date, I have not come across this second motive in other sources.

The next murder did not occur until November 9, a Friday, and since the paper had already gone to press by the time the murder was discovered, it is not until the November 17 edition of the Illustrated Police News that there is any new information for it to report. Despite this, at least a third of each cover page of each week's paper remains devoted to the Whitechapel murders, and headlines range from a recap of "Latest Incidents" on October 27, "Scenes and Incidents of the Mystery of the East End" on November 3, to a strangely general overview of "The London Murder-Scare" on November 10, as if the threat is becoming ever broader, branching out from the East End to affect every part of the city. Around a central illustration of the investigation into the Whitechapel murders, complete with "Scotland Yard Asleep," are scenes from other, unrelated murders: "The Hoxton Mystery," "The Canonbury Mystery," and the "Mysterious Murder of Miss Clark Marylebone" (November 10, 1).[105] Although the paper does not suggest these murders are factually related, it clusters them together, and subtly implies that the violence afflicting the East End is beginning to infect the rest of the city, as well. The Ripper, figuratively at least, is no longer confined to the boundaries of Whitechapel.

The coverage of what the Illustrated Police News refers to as the seventh Ripper murder (Mary Jane Kelly), in the November 17 edition, follows closely the format of the previous murders. A large portrait of the victim, centrally-placed, dominates the full-page illustration.[106] She is surrounded with illustrated vignettes of the crime and investigation, none of which depict her in a positive manner. The lengthy article within describes the condition of the victim's mutilated body quite graphically. Meanwhile, in the December 8 edition of the paper, the illustration of the Ripper himself moves unabashedly into overtly Gothic territory. Its headline asks, "East End Horrors: When Will They Cease?" (December 8,1), but of course, the murders had already reached their culmination. The illustration of the Ripper figure on this page, the last major sketch of the Ripper in this publication, is that of a skull: Death himself.[107] The characterization of the Ripper has, by the time the murders ceased, become monstrous, distanced as far as conceivably possible from the average man on the street.

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[105] This illustration reproduced in Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 11.

Case Study: East End Periodicals

In this section I examine two of the half-dozen papers published locally in the East End of London: the East London Observer and the East London Advertiser. The papers are similar in their mandates, politics, and editorial policies, and they each cost half a penny. Even their titles are similar. No East End paper was published daily; publication schedules ranged from once to twice a week. Each was brief, with most editions ranging from four to eight pages in length, and containing approximately 30 to 40 per cent editorial content (the rest was reserved for advertising, which was clearly a major directive for all these papers). The two papers also take similar journalistic approaches to the Whitechapel murders, coverage of which declines over the four months sampled (September – December 1888), as local school board elections approach and compete for column space. Indeed, the murders, while undeniably a major news story, occupy a lower profile in the East End papers than they do in the mainstream dailies. Broadly, the East End papers respond to the murders in three ways: they offer sympathetic portrayals of the victims, providing contextual information about the communities they inhabited; they engage in media analysis by criticizing the portrayal of the East End in the major, mainstream dailies; and while speculating that the murderer is from the upper classes, they suggest that the ultimate blame for the deaths of the victims lies at the feet of the government and the police – guilt cannot be allotted to a single criminal, nor to his unfortunate victims.

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[106] This illustration reproduced in Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 12.
[107] This illustration reproduced in Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 13.

Unlike the condemnatory language often employed by the mainstream press in its discussion of the victims and their communities, the East End papers are habitually matter of fact about prostitution and sympathetic to its practitioners, reflecting the reality of life in the East End. The East London Advertiser, on September 15, describes Chapman's fall into prostitution as a logical, if unfortunate progression: "Her husband was a veterinary surgeon, who allowed her 10 s. a week, but he died a twelvemonth ago, and, the pension ceasing, she has since earned her living in the streets" (5). Indeed, this newspaper even sends a reporter to discuss the case with East End prostitutes for the purpose of publishing their opinions – something no other paper appears to have even considered. On October 13, the paper reports on a conversation with “girls and women of the same unhappy class as that to which poor Elizabeth Stride belonged” (5). It describes how

> One poor creature, who had evidently been drinking, exclaimed somewhat bitterly to the following effect: ‘We’re all up to no good, and no one cares what becomes of us. Perhaps some of us will be killed next!’ And then she added, ‘If anybody had helped the likes of us long ago we would never have come to this!’ (5)

Given the almost complete absence of women’s voices in the mainstream press’s Ripper reportage, this passage comprises a remarkable public expression of the opinions of Whitechapel women of the lowest, most publicly silent, class, although it is mediated by the reporter and his editors. The overt condemnation of the social conditions constraining these women is all the more powerful because it is the closest any London paper comes to discussing the Ripper case directly with the women most affected.

The East End papers exhibit sympathy for women living in poverty. The East London Advertiser, responding to a proposal that all public lodging houses be shut down by police as a means of controlling the violence, argues that “even the criminal classes must have a place where they can lay their heads at night” (5). Furthermore, they worry about the effect such a measure would have on poor, law-abiding people in general, writing, “It would, moreover, be a hard case if an honest, respectable couple, who perhaps have come up to London to seek work, should be refused a lodging” (5). This paper, like the other locals, is more likely to proclaim solidarity with the working and even criminal classes than it is to either blame them for the Ripper's violence or distance themselves from it. This strategy forms a direct contrast with the ostensible socialism of Reynolds's Newspaper, which proclaims its belief in the fundamental equality of all men, while simultaneously denigrating the lowest classes.

Similarly, while many mainstream papers scold East Enders for their cold-blooded interest in seeing and touring the murder scenes, publishing anecdotes of Whitechapel inhabitants charging admission and profiting from the murder sites, the local newspapers assume a much more sympathetic motive. The East London Observer, for example, explains:

> Poor murdered Polly Nicholls, lying butchered outside the Essex Wharf in Buck's row, was bad enough in all conscience, and sent every spectator on the spot where the body was found away with a desire for vengeance against the perpetrator of so foul a deed; but the latest butchery of Annie Chapman at Hanbury-street was driven the inhabitants of Whitechapel nearly crazy . . . Every newsagent within two miles of the scene of the tragedy concurs in saying that never, in the whole of his experience, has there been such a run on the evening papers. (September 15, 6)

According to this newspaper, spectators react with a desire for vengeance, out of what must be assumed to be a sense of solidarity with and sympathy for the murdered women. Further, the East End papers report on parallel behaviors on the part of West Enders. The East London Observer uniquely reports: "the denizens of West London have begun to take a very lively interest in the doings of the Whitechapel murderer, for since Sunday a very large number of cabs and private carriages containing sightseers have visited the scenes of the tragedies" (October 6, 5). Implicit in this description is the criticism that voyeurism is the only motive for the West End's interest in the East – not, as is the case for the East Enders, a sympathetic desire for vengeance.

The East End newspapers all offer in-depth reports of the proceedings of various local community organizations. The East London Observer, for example, reports on a "Great Meeting" at Spitalfields, and offers verbatim reporting of the Chairman's speech:

> Opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said that the recent outrages which had turned London upside down, and caused the blood of every thinking man to curdle, merited from them that evening, not only the determination to respect the oppressed wherever they found oppression rampant, and to give the right hand of sympathy, help, and encouragement to those who needed it, but also the unmitigated scorn, of their pure manhood for that man, or number of men, who dared outrage someone weaker. (Applause.) They in East London were not so black as they were painted, and they scorned the outrages committed in their midst. (Cheers.) The murderer certainly did not belong to Whitechapel, but had been imported into the district. (Hear, hear.)" (October, 5)

This article both defends the inhabitants of the East End against their negative portrayal in the mainstream press, and suggests that social reforms and anti-poverty measures are the only effective method for ending the Ripper's violence. Finally, it argues that the crimes themselves are imported from wealthier sections of the city.

The local East End papers also engage in more overt criticism of the mainstream newspapers, particularly focusing on the negative portrayal their locale often receives. Their media analysis is quite sophisticated, taking mainstream newspapers to task for biased assumptions, investigating and debunking false accusations, and providing alternate theories. Certainly, inhabitants of the East End were keenly aware of the power of newspapers. The East London Observer, for example, describes how a single article could have significant consequences on the mood of the community, regardless of its veracity:

> Ever since the day of the murder the whole neighbourhood has been more or less alarmed, nor was the alarm decreased by a story published in one or two newspapers this week, describing how a woman, on leaving the Foresters' Music Hall, was accosted by a man who, when near the scene of the murder, hustled her down a turning, where she was stripped of all her money and jewelry by a gang who came up, and was threatened with the same fate as Mrs. Nicholls. Inquiries made into the accuracy of the story have proved it to be absolutely false and groundless. (September 8, 6)[108]

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[108] This article also highlights the social currency of the Whitechapel murders. A simple reference to the crimes was enough to enflame public fear, particularly when used as a threat by a man against a woman.

The article also highlights the pecuniary interests of many newspapers, which sometimes ran unsubstantiated articles. Somewhat later, the same newspaper observes that after a murder, "newsvendors as they brought out numerous 'special editions' which existed only in their own imagination, did a wonderful trade" (October 6, 5). This statement both condemns the East London Observer's competitors for taking advantage of the horrific murders, and suggests that this paper is taking the moral high road by refusing to follow suit. The paper thus displays an almost protective sentiment towards the Ripper's victims. There was money to be made off of these crimes, and it was not the poverty-stricken inhabitants of the East End who profited the most.

The East London Observer even records an instance of an East End inhabitant successfully challenging a false newspaper report. It suggests that in light of the Whitechapel murders, "other atrocities or attempted atrocities have been manufactured in the public press with alarming frequency of late," and offers the example of a recently-published story about another "attempted outrage." It adds, "The story went down immensely with the unfortunately large body of the gullible public, and might probably have been recorded as a fact but for one little incident." The proprietor of a music hall named in the story felt

> that the story tended to cast a slur upon the reputation of the hall, and took the trouble to make a few inquiries in order to ascertain whether there was any foundation for the narrative ... When threatened with prosecution, [the reporter] confessed at last that he had absolutely no foundation for the story

> which he had sent up to the news agency – that, in fact, it existed only in his imagination.
>
> (October 6, 5)[109]

The East London Observer appears to take great pleasure in offering this lengthy description of a local man's triumph over a competing paper's false news story.

The local papers also respond more generally to the portrayal of the East End in the mainstream dailies. On September 22, the East London Observer ran an editorial response to a letter that appeared earlier in the Times from a Lord Sydney Osborne (signed "S.G.O."). They state, he

> speaks of the portion of eastern London 'devoid of the commonest attributes of civilization.' While we thank him for the qualifying word 'portion,' which so many writers omit to use, we must still submit that central, western, northern and southern London, all have their dark spots to which the same words may be applied, with as much truth. (5)

Reverend S. A. Barnett, the vicar of St. Jude's, adds, "The greater part of Whitechapel . . . is as orderly as any part of London, and the life of its inhabitants is more moral than that of many whose vices are hidden by greater wealth" (5). The paper thus debunks larger publications' claims that the women, by choosing to live in the East End, chose for themselves lives of poverty, degradation, and violence. Even so, the paper acknowledges that

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[109] It is not clear whether this is the same incident as the one reported at Foresters' Music Hall. Further research could prove fruitful in this area.

> notwithstanding the much-advertised labours of our preachers and philanthropists, the multiplication of mission halls, and the general spread of education, it is impossible to get away from the fact that there is a large portion of our population who live, move, and have their being under subversion of the commonest principles of civilization. (5)

The East London Observer, then, does not sugar-coat the difficulties with which the East End struggles; it suggests, however, that wealth does not preclude similar struggles, and that the Ripper's crimes cannot be attributed to their geographical locales. In short, the paper provides a counter-argument to the "argument from geography" (Walkowitz City 195) advanced by many middle- and upper-class publications; since the East End is no more violent or immoral than any other part of London, the victims' choice to live in the East End does not make them responsible for their own deaths.

Finally, the local papers advance theories of the crimes that imply the murderer must come from an upper-class background, ultimately suggesting that blame for the deaths of the victims lies at the feet of the government and the police. The East London Observer, for example, states outright that

> the motives of the crimes not being plunder, the murderer belongs to the middle or even to the upper classes . . . The clean manner in which all the wounds have been cut . . . point to the murderer as being – not a butcher, for the wounds would have been different – but one which is handy in the use of

> the knife, who has studied anatomy, and has not improbably used a dissecting knife before. (September 15, 6)

In other words, the killer is an upper-class, well-educated medical man – not a working-class East Ender, and certainly not a Jew. Indeed, unlike most other publications, this paper defends the Jews, arguing that "There never was a Jew yet who could have steeped himself in such . . . horrors as those to which publicity has been given . . . The whole theory and practical working of the Whitechapel butchery are opposed to Jewish character" (September 15, 6). Given the number of immigrant Jews inhabiting the East End and, presumably, purchasing these newspapers, it is not surprising that the papers tend to defend them from accusations of violence.

The papers criticize the metropolitan police force quite harshly, drawing a distinction between the inhabitants of the area and what was seen as an outside police force. In a lengthy editorial, for example, the East London Advertiser expresses some of the neighbourhood's resentments:

> The Whitechapel tragedies open up the whole question of our police organization. The present system combines a good many of the vices of the Continental and American plans without any of their virtues. We are militarizing our police, but we do not seem to be able to make either good detectives of them or good local guardians of our lives and property . . . The old idea of the policeman was that he was a man appointed by the neighbours to look after their lives and property. He was a hired servant, of course, but still he was a member of the community whose interests he looked after, and

> had some sort of an acquaintance with every one of the black sheep who were the special objects of his attention. Now this is as far removed from the idea of a centralized bureaucratic police as can well be imagined . . . Nothing, indeed, has been more characteristic of the hunt after the Whitechapel murderer than the want of local knowledge displayed by the police. . . . The chances are that if Whitechapel had had a properly organized local force it would long ago have been rid of the ghoul whose midnight murders have roused all London and frighted decent citizens in their beds. (September 15, 5)

The main criticism of the police is simply that they are not *of* the East End, and are trying to solve the crime without any local knowledge. In fact, the East London Observer reports, the police harmed the East End more than they helped it: "To give them their due," the paper wryly states, "the police have by no means been idle during the last week; indeed, many a respectable and perfectly innocent man who has been compelled to take a journey to the nearest police station to satisfy the authorities as to his identity, has been inclined to say that they have just been a little too busy" (October 12, 5).

This tone of black humor is equally evident in a slightly earlier article, again targeted at the police. The East London Observer reports,

> The marvelous inefficiency of the police in the detection of crime was forcibly shown in the fact that in the very same block as that containing Mitre square, in a great leading thoroughfare, and at a moment when the whole area was full of police just after the murder, the Aldgate Post-Office was entered and

> ransacked, and property to the value of hundreds of pounds was taken clear away, under the very noses of the 'guardians of peace and order.' (October 6, 5)

This humorous tone, however, masks a deep dissatisfaction with not just the police, but the larger government itself – highlighting the potentially explosive public unrest in the East End. The East London Observer concludes,

> For some years past we have been painfully aware that the protection afforded by the police has not kept pace with the increase of population in Whitechapel . . . The general feeling prevalent in our midst is that the Government no longer ensures the security of life and property in East London, and that, in consequence, respectable people fear to go out shopping, thus depriving us of our means of livelihood. (October 6, 5)

Evident in these newspapers is a strong sense of disaffection and dissatisfaction with the British social status quo. For people living in the East End, the ineffectiveness of the police was not merely a joke, although incidents such as the post office robbery surely provoked a bitter smile. The lack of an effective police force to impose law and order in the area had significant deleterious consequences for inhabitants.

The local East End press thus presents a significant narrative departure from larger, more popular, mainstream publications, both in its treatment of women and its overall construction of the Ripper narrative as a story of want and privation in the face of indifference. Media theorist Steve Chibnall argues that "crime news provides a chance for a newspaper to appropriate the moral conscience of its readership" (xi), and that is precisely the project of the East End press's Ripper reportage. The papers appropriate the story of the criminal and his victims in order to advance their political agenda of social reform.

Case Study: Women's Penny Paper

Lucy Brown reports that "[Victorian] journalism was exceptional and noteworthy in its employment of women. Harriet Martineau and Francis Power Cobbe both wrote leading articles for the Daily News at different times, and Miss Cobbe also acted as their correspondent in Italy for a short time" (77).[110] Mainstream publications often had women's pages, as well, but the influence women were able to wield over the content of the papers themselves was limited. And as for the Ripper crisis, Walkowitz argues that "women were significantly marginalized from the public telling of the story" (192). Susan Hamilton reports that "Victorian feminists themselves responded to the problem of access by setting up their own reviews, journals and periodicals" (xi).The Women's Penny Paper is one such publication; it also offered a public forum for women to express their opinions and theories about the Ripper crimes. Strategically, like other small periodicals, it engaged more in media analysis of other publications than in direct news reporting. It began publication part way through the Ripper crisis, on October 27, 1888, and had a progressive editorial policy aimed at advancing the rights and roles of women in society. By November 3 its masthead read: "Women's Penny Paper: The only Paper in the World Conducted, Written, Printed and Published by Women." The weekly periodical purported to attempt to appeal to as broad a cross-section of female readers as possible (though its core audience was predominantly middle class), and covered community events, local, national and international news items of interest to women, interviews with feminist activists, as well as various amusements and advertisements.

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[110] Both women were well-known public figures, political activists, and feminists, in addition to their journalistic work.

The first issue of the paper, coming as it did at the height of the Ripper crisis, does not make overt mention of the case. Its statement of policy, however, which is laid out in full on the first page, is in part a topical comment on the mainstream media's handling of Ripper news:

> The sensationalism which consists in reporting and describing terrible crimes is absolutely incompatible with our interpretation of excellence. We hold that the most effectual way to encourage and increase crimes of violence is the way that the Press of to-day is pursuing. . . . The law on conscience and common sense teaches us that no sensational crime may legitimately be described in a newspaper unless it is to exhibit some underlying circumstance of a practical and urgent nature. Thus we shall not shrink from our duty of alluding to an unpleasant topic if it points very vividly to some law relative to women requiring reform; but some immediate practical outcome is the necessary condition. (October 27, 1)

Here, the Women's Penny Paper questions the motives of the mainstream press reportage of the Ripper crimes, and suggests the possibility of harmful results for women. Its reliance on practicality as a criterion for reporting on crime sets it further apart from the mainstream, but by assuming that the mode of reportage employed by a paper can have direct, practical results in society, it also highlights the perceived power of the press in general.

In the following weeks, the paper makes brief reports on various aspects of the Ripper case directly of interest to women, and it generally adheres to its policy. On November 3 it published a petition from "the women of the labouring classes of East London" to the Queen, requesting that "bad houses" or brothels in the area be forcibly closed. It was signed, apparently, by 4,000 to 5,000 women (2). As Walkowitz observes, it is uncertain to what degree this petition spoke for the poorest East End women, since

> Purity groups had closed down two hundred brothels in the East End in the year prior to the Ripper murders, rendering hundreds of women homeless, hence vulnerable to attack, and certainly making the lower stratum of prostitution – where the victims of the Ripper were situated – even more precarious as a means of subsistence. ("Myth" 558)

The Women's Penny Paper, however, makes no mention of this fact, and appears to support the petition as a measure aimed at improving the conditions of all women in the East End.

There is a brief, factual report in the "Leaderettes" column of November 17 on the latest murder (that of Mary Jane Kelly), which it claims has "increased a hundredfold the sense of insecurity among the inhabitants of the doomed district," causing them to be "maddened with suspicion" (4). Uncharacteristically for the

Women's Penny Paper, this brief article has a rather distancing and pessimistic tone, abandoning the East End as "doomed," and therefore ostensibly beyond the reach of either charity or social reform. Instead of pushing for improvements in the area, as it does in every other mention of the Ripper case, this article seems resigned to the poverty and crime of the East End. It even questions the sanity of the area's inhabitants, suggesting they are unable to respond rationally to the threat represented by the Ripper. This characterization is countered, however, by the rest of the paper's coverage of the case, which emphasizes the shared concerns of all London women, regardless of class or location.

In an editorial on November 24, on the resignation of Sir Charles Warren from the office of Chief Commissioner of Police, the paper belittles Warren's timidity in the face of the "howling, angry, dangerous mob," and argues that women are physically and legally more vulnerable to abuse than he:

> We women, who have not been supplied by our protectors with any means of protection at all, can assure him that *he* is perfectly safe, and so are all his friends. Neither mad dogs, nor angry mobs, nor Whitechapel murderers should trouble his night's rest.
>
> And if women have not the same cause for a happy sense of security, they are at least realizing that they had better begin to take care of themselves, and each other, and to give to their defenceless sisters some of the tenderness and devotion which they have for so long lavished upon their Protected Protectors. (4)

This article stresses the connectedness of all women, who share (if little else) the experience of insecurity and inequality. The reasonable fear of physical violence amongst women in the East End is assumed and shared – metaphorically, at least – by British women in general. By emphasizing the different responses of men and women to the threat of the Ripper, the Women's Penny Paper underlines the gendered nature of that threat.

Nearly a month later, a brief article appears that more fully articulates this sense of connection and shared experience. In one of the few signed articles in the paper, "E.J." argues on December 22 that no woman should condemn others who resort to prostitution, nor can the distinctions between prostitutes and other women be considered firm. She writes,

> If there are women among us who tolerate vice in men, from which they would shrink if found in women – if there is one who would condescend to barter her daughter in the matrimonial market to the highest bidder – one who has married, or will marry, to gain the shelter of house or home, or the pinnacle of position – then let such an one tremble with very kinship to the sister she so unmercifully despises. (6)

The only solution, E.J. suggests, is to end economic inequality between men and women – the root inequality that produced the Whitechapel murders in the first place. The feminist socialism expressed in the Women's Penny Paper forms an illustrative contrast with the more masculinist socialism espoused by Reynolds's Newspaper.

The Women's Penny Paper of November 3 combines clever satire with newspaper analysis in its column "This Week's Jokes" (7). In a parodical sketch written "with sincere apologies to the Author of 'Macbeth'," three editors stand around a cauldron listing off elements of Whitechapel reportage in a "gory catalogue," such as "Headlines of the largest size," and "Murderers' letters – all 'faked' lies." They chant the refrain, "Bubble, bubble! murder trouble, / Makes our circulation double." The glee with which the editors tackle each gruesome detail of the case comes to a head in the last of the three stanzas. The editors intone:

> Post-mortem details, too, in 'slips,'
> Also funereal quips.
> Let us work all these up gaily,
> For our 'weekly' or our 'daily.' (7)[111]

This apparent joke on the amusements page of the paper in fact highlights the economic interest the mainstream media has in prolonging and expanding the Ripper case. The editors of the newspapers, themselves, are cast as Macbeth's female witches, a strange displacement of gender in a highly gender-conscious publication. The fact that the Women's Penny Paper locates its monsters not in the entity killing women in London's East End, but in the ranks of editors and writers who use stories of tragic victimization for their own financial and professional gain, shows just how seriously it took the actions of those newspapermen.

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[111] Reproduced in facsimile in full in Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 14.

The Women's Penny Paper thus engages in a mode of media analysis that directly criticizes mainstream journalistic narratives of the Ripper's crimes and dominant representations of his victims. It further highlights the overtly financial motives that reinforce these narratives.[112] The paper provides an important voice of opposition to the narratives told in the mainstream, popular press.

Conclusion

The women who were murdered by Jack the Ripper are represented in the London press largely as a group of undifferentiated "unfortunates," their life histories edited in such a way as to obscure any positive characteristics or life experiences they might have possessed, and to conform to overarching Victorian representations of "fallen" women. The resulting Ripper reportage thus offers much information about the political orientation of each newspaper, but little about the women themselves. Chibnall confirms that this is a common characteristic of what he terms "law and order news," arguing that newspapers "construct representations and accounts of reality which are shaped by the constraints imposed upon them: constraints emanating from the conventions, ideologies, and organization of journalism and news bureaucracies" (ix). But just as newspapers construct representations of reality, they simultaneously obscure the constructedness of their representations, purporting to report only the "true" facts and information. This is a necessary, legitimizing fiction for any publication reporting on current events. Even newspapers such as the East London Observer and the Women's Penny Paper – which take great delight in pointing out the fallacies present in other papers – fail to acknowledge their own implication in the same task of narrative construction. In the following chapters, I will examine representations that occur in overt fictionalization of the Ripper's crimes. In texts in which there are no overriding concerns about objectivity or truth, how do authors imagine the Ripper and his victims?

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[112] The community-based weekly publication the Jewish Chronicle engages in similar media analysis, both highlighting the constructedness of the mainstream media's portrayal of the Ripper figure, and questioning the motives behind that construction. This tactic of media analysis was thus not unique to the Women's Penny Paper, but was a common strategy of resistance for those communities negatively affected by the dominant cultural construction of the Ripper narrative.

Chapter Three

Rewriting the Ripper, Recasting his Victims: Early Fictionalizations

"I find that a foolish nonsensical [story] will sell twice as fast as a good moral sentimental one; and, while it lasts, a good murder will cut out the whole of them. It's the best selling thing of any."

– A penny dreadful street vendor in 1851,
quoted by Henry Mayhew (London Labour 1.235)

Introduction

Fictionalizations of the Ripper case were both popular and lucrative in the months and years following the murders. News of the Ripper's crimes spread quickly throughout the Western world, and writers and publishers in many different countries were quick to take advantage of the notoriety of the case to increase their profit margins. While a full-length novelization of the case did not appear until Marie Belloc Lowndes published The Lodger in 1913,[113] many short, magazine-length stories appeared within months of the crimes. In Britain, these short stories fell under the publication umbrella of "penny dreadfuls" because they were both cheap and sensational; a similar publishing phenomenon arose in other Western countries, as well.

This chapter takes as its subject three widely different texts, representing different publication dates (although all fall within the period spanning 1888 to 1913), geographical locations, and even languages. Each of these texts uses the general facts of the Ripper case to rewrite the narrative as a fictional mystery that foregrounds the position of women, and engages with social issues, in different ways. Many "penny dreadfuls" about the Ripper were published during this time – far too many to include or even mention in this chapter. I have therefore selected three texts that I consider to be particularly important and relevant to this study of textual representations of the Ripper's victims. I discuss each text in some depth (and provide more plot details than is perhaps usual) simply because none of these texts have yet received academic attention.[114] The Curse Upon Mitre Square (1888), by J.F. Brewer,[115] is significant as the first-ever piece of published fiction concerning the Ripper case. In order to capitalize on the public interest in the case, it was rushed into publication in 1888, before the murder spree had even run its course – "within weeks of the Stride/Eddowes killings" (Cindy Collins Smith vii) – and sold in London at the height of the Autumn of Terror.[116] It imagines the Ripper's crimes as the culmination of a long string of historical, supernatural events, and presents its strange narrative of incestuous criminality in conventionally Gothic terms: the murderer turns out to be a ghostly monk with an unusual motive. Several years later, across the ocean in New

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[113] See Chapter Four of this dissertation for a complete discussion of this novel.

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[114] Clive Bloom's book Cult Fiction: Popular Reading and Pulp Theory includes an entire chapter on Jack the Ripper (159-177); however, it focuses on newspaper narratives and, despite its title, provides no analysis of Ripper "pulp."

[115] Note that this is likely a pseudonym, since it was quite unusual for penny dreadful writers to publish under their own names.

[116] Smith's introduction to the text, while providing important publication information, is not a scholarly article.

York City, W.B. Lawson wrote Jack the Ripper in New York (1891),[117] and published it in the serial Log Cabin Library: New Stories of Startling Adventure by the Best Authors. This story imagines what might happen if the Ripper had moved to America to avoid detection by the London police. It unfolds as a first-person narrative told from the perspective of an heroic private detective named Ward Crane, who ultimately identifies the criminal (without actually capturing him), and wins the hand of his beloved in the process. The last text I examine in this chapter was originally published in Paris, in French, in 1912. Comprising the third volume of the serial Ethel King: The Female Nick Carter,[118] Jean Petithuguenin's Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer pits the criminal against a female amateur detective.[119] Ethel King was the heroine of a string of mysteries and the star of her own serial publication; she appeared first in a German penny dreadful, and was then appropriated by Petithuguenin for a new series of French adventures. King was also the first fictional female detective to take up the challenge of the Ripper case.[120] In the text, she proves her mettle by successfully capturing the criminal after police on two continents fail to arrest him. In order to explicate the specific historical context into which each of these texts fall, I begin my analysis with a brief examination of the field of popular publishing, before turning to the texts themselves. I focus primarily on penny dreadfuls in Britain, and then briefly turn to parallel phenomena in America and France.

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[117] Again, the author's name may be a pseudonym. Lawson was a prolific dime novel writer, and he published frequently in the Log Cabin Library. He penned several series for the publication, including The Dalton Boys and Diamond Dick.

[118] As far as I have been able to discern, this text has not been translated into English, nor has it been discussed in any scholarly publications. All quotations from this text are therefore my own translations; the original French text appears in footnotes. The French series' title is Ethel King: Le Nick Carter Féminin. Nick Carter was the well-known detective hero of many penny dreadful mysteries.

[119] The original French title of this text is Jack l'Eventreur, le Tueur de Femmes. Like Lawson, Petithuguenin was a prolific writer of serial dreadfuls. His titles included Rouges et Blancs, which ran for 80 issues from 1913 to 1914, and French versions of previously-published German dreadfuls including Stoerte-Becker, le Souverain des Oceans (Jess Nevins, n.p.).

[120] The Lodger was published the following year. It also pits a woman against the murderer, but Lowndes' protagonist is not a professional detective, as is Ethel King. Lowndes imagines the case as a domestic narrative, and her heroine is a housekeeper, an "almost-detective" (Lisa M. Dresner 9).

The Penny Dreadful

The same social, economic and cultural reforms that triggered the remarkable growth of the Victorian press in London over the course of the century influenced all aspects of the publishing market, including the publication and consumption of fictional texts. As Dennis Denisoff reports, for the first time, "developments in printing and an increased literacy rate amongst the general population encouraged the production of publications aimed at a wide range of people, many of whom had little money to spend on reading material and limited reading skills" (1). Thus opened a new market for affordable fiction, distinct from the long-established but expensive trade in literary novels and poetry volumes which were out of the reach of many lower-class readers. A new literary and publishing form, dubbed the "penny dreadful," stepped in to meet this demand. Michael Anglo, in his book Penny Dreadfuls and Other Victorian Horrors, argues that the term "applied equally to the penny magazines, to the long serials published in such magazines, and to the highly coloured novels issued in penny parts" (11). He concludes that penny dreadfuls are best defined loosely, as "cheaply produced escapist literature for the masses" (11).

The popularity of the new form spanned the century, and included many different branches, genres, and publishing practices. Denisoff is slightly more specific in his definition; he writes, "penny dreadfuls were magazines published on inexpensive paper with fairly simple but exciting stories crammed together with often crude, vivid visuals" (1). In short, these publications were intended to be affordable and easily-accessible to the lower classes.

Although penny dreadfuls represented a new type of publication, they did not spring into being fully formed. Indeed, much of the current scholarship surrounding these texts focuses on their literary and cultural antecedents.[121] Victor E. Neuburg offers a comprehensive history of the genre in his book Popular Literature: A History and Guide. He writes that the penny dreadful evolved from the popular fiction of less-literate times, specifically ballads and broadsides. Broadsides were short texts, usually illustrated, "printed upon one side only of a flimsy sheet of paper" (20). Ballads, as the name suggests, "were intended to be sung" (25). They were therefore "set to an air which would have been familiar to both seller and purchaser" (25). Both catered to a sub-literate market. Broadsides could be shared, discussed, posted in public houses, and read aloud; ballads could be easily learned and transmitted orally. As the literacy of the general population increased in the nineteenth century, so too did the demand for longer, more involved works of fiction. The resultant field of penny dreadfuls drew on many of the traditions of their predecessors, particularly,

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[121] Like many forms of popular culture, penny dreadfuls only began to be widely studied within the academy in the 1970s and 1980s, after larger debates about canonicity challenged conventional notions about what types of literature were appropriate objects of scholarly inquiry. As late as1998, McCracken reported that the high culture / low culture divide still persisted (5).

Neuburg argues, the tendency to "romanticize reality – to offer a kind of cultural jingoism – in order to achieve as wide a sale as possible" (137). Writers, publishers and vendors knew from centuries of experience that texts based on current events sold best. Crime narratives were therefore a popular subject for ballads and broadsides, since reports of criminal activity tent to engender highly personal fears and concerns. Penny dreadfuls drew upon this generic convention, and took up the subject of crime with apparent relish, simultaneously infusing factual crime narratives with Gothic literary conventions and significant artistic license. As Anglo reports, writers and publishers of penny dreadfuls were able to achieve this fusion cheaply by "unscrupulously plundering and plagiarizing Gothic tales and popular novels by established authors, [and] resuscitating and embellishing tales of old crimes" (11). The Gothic genre "represents events which are uncanny or macabre or melodramatically violent, and often deals with aberrant psychological states" (M.H. Abrams 78), and was therefore particularly suited to the penny dreadful. The genre's popularity in the nineteenth century brought with it the likelihood of financial success, and its "brooding atmosphere of gloom and terror" (Abrams 78) provided the sensational emotional impact that earlier crime broadsides (such as the Newgate Calendar[122]) lacked.

The driving force behind the penny dreadful was always economic. David Vincent writes, "in terms of volume and price, the trade in imaginative literature during the second half of the nineteenth century represented a copybook example of the progress of the capitalist economy. Increasing demand stimulated competition which in turn extended the market" (210). Artistic concerns were therefore often subordinated to financial considerations, which is one of the reasons for the negative connotations that often accompany the genre in elite and academic circles. Economist John Springhall has studied the penny dreadful publishing business in great depth; he explains that the market for these publications necessarily expanded as the century wore on:

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[122] A serial publication that spanned the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Newgate Calendar originated as a monthly recap of state executions of criminals, and evolved into a more general collection of crime narratives and criminals' biographies.

> The purchase or hire of printing plants, often using borrowed capital, led to a necessity driven by technology for a constant stream of publications, in order to keep expensive steam-driven machinery in production. This involved a social shift whereby from the 1860s, if not before, juvenile readers joined a wider cultural formation, the 'mass', that was not restricted to a single age group, gender, or class. (575)

The penny dreadful market, while predominantly oriented towards the working class, was driven by economic necessity to be broad enough to appeal to most segments of the "mass" of nineteenth century readers. Springhall concludes that "the question of how lucrative or, on the contrary, how marginal a living could be made from this kind of publishing is complicated by evidence that while some proprietors became rich and prospered, others went bankrupt or ended their lives in alcoholic poverty" (581). It was thus in the best interest of publishers to use every means at their disposal to ensure financial success: employing time-tested, popular genres and narratives, appealing to a broad cross-section of potential buyers, and keeping costs as low as possible.

The cost of producing a small dreadful could be quite low. In fact, Vincent observes that the field was open "to anyone who could find as little as £30 to purchase a press and hire a small room in which to install it" (201). Publication was as easy as that – with the result being that the roads surrounding Fleet Street in London were lined with small publishers attempting to make their fortunes and move up in the world. Hiring an author to provide copy was another expense, although it, too, was relatively minor. Writers retained no copyrights over their work, and as Vincent notes, "a five-thousand-word penny dreadful would earn for its author no more than the weekly wage of an unskilled labourer" (200-201). Anglo concurs, opining "there can have been little job satisfaction for the authors, for most of their work was published anonymously or under pseudonyms and they earned considerably less than a penny a line" (95).[123] There were, of course, some exceptions; occasionally, an established writer would publish in a penny dreadful. The vast majority of penny dreadful writers, however, labored in anonymity, both "overworked and underpaid" (Anglo 75).[124]

Once a dreadful had been written and published, it was sold to the public through several different venues, largely determined by the class of the targeted consumer. With an estimated two million copies of dreadfuls published every week in the late 1880s (Vincent 212), the market was highly diverse. Publishing industry employees – and there were many – predominantly purchased their copies directly from the publishers' offices around Fleet Street. Newsagents supplied penny novels and various serials to middle-class readers, while the working classes often purchased their copies from more traditional sources. Like the ballads and broadsides from which they evolved, dreadfuls were also informally sold by salesmen on street corners, although this practice gradually declined over the century. Henry Mayhew provides vignettes of these men, whom he refers to as "standing patterers" (1.232), in his encyclopedic description of the mid-Victorian lower classes, London Labour and the London Poor. He writes,

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[123] These writers came to be known as "penny-a-liners," although they rarely earned that much.
[124] The difficult working conditions of dreadful writers actually altered the style of the publications themselves. As Anglo reports, writers paid by the line quickly realized that dialogue took up more lines than plain text, since a new line was required each time the speaker changed. As a result, brisk, clipped dialogue became a common feature of the dreadful.

> Standing patterers are men who remain in one place, until they think they have exhausted the custom likely to accrue there, or until they are removed by the police; and who endeavour to attract attention to their papers . . . either by means of a board with coloured pictures upon it, illustrative of the contents of what they sell, or else by gathering a crowd round about them, in giving a lively or horrible description of the papers or books they are "working." (1.232)

A patterer who specialized in crime fiction was known pejoratively as a "death hunter" (1.228), and he typically had few qualms about inventing non-existent murders to boost his sales. Mayhew quotes one such man as saying, "We can make most money of the murders while they last, but they don't last, and they merely want a good pair of lungs to get them off" (1.235). In short, murder was good business.

Texts about recent murders were thus the most profitable; narratives concerning Jack the Ripper fit these requirements perfectly.

Because they were affordable, widely available, and written in language easily comprehensible to the newly literate classes, penny dreadfuls had a broad readership. As Vincent observes, by the middle of the nineteenth century, dreadfuls were "merely one item amongst the stock of basic needs and minor luxuries which [even] the least prosperous of households sought to obtain as time and circumstances permitted" (197). Even the very poor managed to obtain copies of their favourite publications; working-class youths who couldn't afford to purchase their own copies established clubs to pool their resources and collectively purchase publications to share (Dennisoff 2). While the middle and upper classes had access to both penny dreadfuls and more expensive literary forms such as three-volume novels, the lower classes were largely financially restricted to penny fiction. For this reason, the genre came to be considered "literature of the people" (McCracken 20), associated with a down-market mass readership.

Even today, the term "literature of the people" is loaded with both positive and negative connotations. McCracken observes, "the term has always been contested, signifying on the one hand the authentic voice of the people and on the other their ignorance, vulgarity, and susceptibility to manipulation" (20). Certainly, the penny dreadful was the site of much cultural anxiety in the late-Victorian period. In fact, as Springhall states, even the use of the term "penny dreadful" to describe these publications is a symptom of that anxiety: "The pejorative and habitually misleading ‘dreadful’ label was adopted into common discourse in England during the 1870s . . . in order to amplify social anxiety or ‘moral panic’ over the latest commercial innovation” (568).[125] Middle class culture pundits feared that the common subject matter of the dreadfuls – crime, Gothic horror, and sensation – would influence the morals of the lower classes, who were believed to be predisposed to criminal activity. Neuburg explains,

> it was felt that literature and its provision was a moral issue, and that a more wholesome approach was required if readers of little education were to be saved from ‘extravagant and horrible fiction’ which, so right thinking commentators from the middle class thought, could only debauch them and destroy their moral sense. (160-161)

Penny dreadfuls were thus at the centre of a fraught cultural debate about the nature of appropriate reading materials for the lower classes. The debate had little effect on their popularity, however, nor did it change their content. They remained a staple of the publishing market throughout the Victorian era.

The situation in America was parallel, although the American term for cheap, popular, sensational, mass fiction was “dime novels” or “dime-store novels,” and they rose to popularity slightly later in America than dreadfuls did in Britain. As Edward T. Leblanc reports, many aspects of dime novel publishing echoed the British explosion of penny dreadfuls. He writes that “with compulsory education a matter of law in most states, a reservoir of readers was being created" (1). From the 1860s on, these readers leaped upon the newly available and highly affordable dime novels. Like their British counterparts, dime novels relied upon Gothic narratives, reprints and plagiarisms of earlier texts, and cheap production for their popularity. And as in Britain, this combination of factors resulted in extraordinary and continued success. Gary Hoppenstand observes that "there were hundreds of different dime novels published by dozens of publishers, with the number of printed copies totaling in the millions" (3). Hoppenstand adds that detective narratives were particularly popular in America, since the detective figure "exemplifies the American heroic tradition" (4) of independence and entrepreneurial spirit. Calling all dime novels "highly conservative politically" (6), he concludes:

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[125] This “moral panic” provoked a backlash in the publishing industry: journalist W.T. Stead began to publish a series of overtly didactic “penny healthfuls” in 1895, in an attempt to provide wholesome reading material to working-class boys (Patrick Dunae 146-7). The series was not an unqualified success, and gained the mocking nickname “penny Steadfuls.”

> the triumph of the dime novel detective over his criminal adversary is . . . the triumph of the frontier-bred American hero over the dirty foreign immigrant; it is the triumph of the conservative capitalist over the radical socialist; and ultimately it is the triumph of the Utopia-evolving city over the forces of chaos. (6)

All of these descriptions hold true for the dime novel I examine in this chapter, Jack the Ripper in New York. And as we shall see, the "forces of chaos" that threaten the orderly world of detective Ward Crane are comprised of both foreign criminals and a more domestic threat: unruly women who transgress their prescribed, domestic gender role.

In France, the same trends of increasing education and literacy coupled with newly affordable publications appear. Jean-Marc Lofficier and Randy Lofficier report that the French version of the penny dreadful or dime novel was called the *roman feuilleton*. (316).[126] Offshoots of the *fantastique populaire*, these were texts "published in inexpensive formats and catering to large audiences. . . . In the true tradition of popular fiction, they were considered cheap thrills, good only for the barely educated masses" (316). Like their British and American equivalents, these *romans* employed Gothic plots, sensational styles, and were both "lurid and exploitative" (316). The final text I examine in this chapter, Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer, is a highly representative *roman feuilleton*. Starring detective Ethel King, this serial sold for the low price of ten centimes, and explored a range of sensational crimes. Its engagement with the Ripper case is not surprising, as the invocation of the infamous criminal allowed it to exploit a pre-existing, popular narrative. Lofficier and Lofficier write that texts of this sort "read like sensational newspaper accounts," and that they were "often derivative of the works of other popular writers" (319). The Ripper case, which began in newspapers and developed into a complex yet well-known narrative thus provided ideal subject matter.

Whatever its country of origin, Scott McCracken argues that popular fiction "is both created by and a participant in social conflict" (2).[127] Joseph Grixti agrees, arguing that these texts comprise "an important index of the concerns, purposes, and understanding of reality which predominate in a particular context and time" (22-23). With the so-called "woman question" instigating much public interest and debate in the last half of the nineteenth century – and considering the gendered nature of the Ripper's crimes – the high profile of gender issues in each of these texts is unsurprising. Significantly, both The Curse Upon Mitre Square and Jack the Ripper in New York imply that the female victims are responsible for their own murders. Further, each text solves the Ripper mystery by identifying the killer without actually apprehending him – leaving him free to continue with his crimes. Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer breaks this pattern in two ways. It crafts a narrative of the Ripper's victims that actually rehabilitates them, showing them in an entirely positive light. And it provides absolute closure through the identification and arrest of the criminal. The fact that it is a woman detective who closes the case, much to the relief of the inept (male) chief of police, suggests that only a woman can stop a woman killer. ✓

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[126] These texts were originally serialized in newspapers, although as they evolved they appeared in small pamphlets and magazines of their own. Still, the name stuck: *feuille* ("leaf") is a term for a newspaper page.

[127] McCracken's book Pulp: Reading Popular Fiction offers significant analytical models for the interpretation of the genre. However, its usefulness for this study is limited by its focus on late-

The Curse Upon Mitre Square – Blaming the Victims, Forgiving the Killer

Brewer's The Curse Upon Mitre Square was published mid-way through the Autumn of Terror; the timing was quite obviously financially motivated to take full advantage of the notoriety of the Ripper's crimes. The text has been largely ignored by Ripper scholars, other than the occasional mention of the title – with no follow-up

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twentieth and twenty-first century texts. McCracken himself cautions that many of his ideas cannot easily be applied to earlier forms of pop culture, such as those that form the basis of my study.

analysis.[128] Preeminent Ripperologist Donald Rumbelow reportedly dismisses the text as a "piece of nonsense" (qtd. in Smith vii), and even Smith, in her short introduction to the current E-book edition of the text, refers to it as "a pulpy piece of exploitation trash" (v). These criticisms, and the general lack of scholarly interest in the text, are at least partly due to its status as a penny dreadful. Like most dreadfuls, The Curse Upon Mitre Square is indeed pulpy, exploitative, and even nonsensical. The speed of its production is evident in a general lack of editing: it is rife with errors in time lines and minor plot holes. However, as we shall see, these criticisms do not mean that the text is unworthy of closer attention. Its interpretation of the Ripper case as a Gothic, historical romance has proved highly influential, sparking a tradition of supernatural explanations for the Ripper's crimes in fictional renderings of the narrative.[129] And finally, its representation of women in the case is both complex and unusual, drawing on the preexisting narratives in the London newspapers, and tempering them with its own brand of misogyny to produce a narrative in which the murder of women is just punishment, and the real victims of the Ripper are shown to be men. The deaths of women are incidental to the primary experience of men.

The 46-page text is broken up into three distinct "Books," each with a separate yet related story that culminates in the 1888 Ripper murders. Each is set in the geographical location where the Ripper's murders eventually took place, but at varying historical periods. Book I offers the longest and most involved narrative; it comprises approximately eighty percent of the length of the text. It occurs in 1530, when the priory of the Church of Holy Trinity allegedly stood in Aldgate, and follows the rise and fall of a monk named Martin, who is caught up in a political intrigue that eventually destroys him; he is a pawn in a loosely sketched battle for power between the church and the monarchy. Brewer explains that the monks of this particular priory hold "greater power and greater wealth" (2) than most other monks, and that were they not so popular with the common people, the "rapacious King Hal" (2) would dissolve the priory and seize their assets.[130] The monks are only protected by their good standing in their community; as long as they are respected and popular, they are "safe from the temporal power which feared to touch them" (2). Martin is a neophyte in the order, but he is well-known and well-liked by the populace. He thus attracts the attention of Thomas Audley, an agent of the King, who arranges for a mysterious woman to seduce and publicly expose the young monk. After several sensational revelations, Audley's scheme is successful, and the story ends with the monks ceding the church and priory to the King. Book II takes place in 1730. The church and priory have fallen into ruin, and a public house has been erected on the site, although rumours persist about a ghostly monk who haunts the area. According to legend, "a curse did alight on the unlucky person who approached the spot with a criminal or jeering intention" (28). The proprietor of the pub, Railton, holds a party to disprove the existence of the ghostly monk. Unfortunately, his party has quite the opposite effect: the ghost of Martin shows himself and, angered, kills the jeering revelers. Finally, Book III is set in Whitechapel in 1888, at the height of the Ripper crisis. It explains that the so-called "Ripper" murders are simply the latest manifestation of the curse that haunts Mitre Square, and the book concludes with the promise of heavenly forgiveness for Martin, the aggrieved monk.

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[128] For example, Bloom briefly refers to the text in his book Cult Fiction, but provides no analysis and misdates the text as being published in 1889 (164).

[129] A small sampling of literary examples includes Robert Bloch's short story "Yours Truly, Jack the Ripper" (1943), Anno-Dracula by Kim Newman (1993), and Alan Moore's From Hell (1991-1996). Television and film adaptations include an episode of Star Trek written by Bloch entitled "Wolf in the Fold" (1967), the film version of From Hell starring Johnny Depp, and a book by Nancy Holder based on Buffy the Vampire Slayer, entitled Blood and Fog (2003).

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[130] Brewer's history is imprecise; Henry V was referred to as Prince Hal before he took power, but was never called "King Hal." Further, he ruled from 1413-1422, long before the events of The Curse Upon Mitre Square. The political machinations Brewer attributes to "King Hal" were actually enacted by Henry VIII in the 1530s.

The Curse Upon Mitre Square thus reimagines the Ripper case as an historically-driven, Gothic romance, in which the true victim of the narrative is Martin, the killer who actually enacts the curse upon Mitre Square.[131] Instead of a villainous killer, the narrative depicts him as a troubled, betrayed soul who is lured into evil by a corrupt, overly sexual woman. Men, not women, are the true victims: in Book I, Martin experiences sexual betrayal at the hands of a woman who turns out to be his own long-lost sister. For this crime, he is doomed to a ghostly existence of pain and torment. In Book II, Martin takes vengeance on a group of revelers who incur his wrath – he punishes both men and women who transgress the boundaries of their social roles. And finally in Book III, Brewer suggests that the women killed in London in 1888 are also victims of Martin's curse. They have essentially brought this scourge upon themselves, their drunken laughter and overt sexuality angering the ghost. The fact that the book ends by absolving Martin of his crimes further minimizes his own responsibility.

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[131] Monks and other elements of the Catholic religion are common staples of the Gothic genre. Like many penny dreadfuls, The Curse Upon Mitre Square draws heavily upon earlier, more successful Gothic texts. This text's depiction of a monk's fall from innocence is largely based on Matthew Lewis's canonical Gothic novel The Monk (1796), in which the title character Ambrosio falls into temptation, eventually committing rape and murder. Lewis's text also contains a strain of incest which no doubt influenced Brewer's inclusion of that crime in his dreadful.

As the main character in the longest book in The Curse Upon Mitre Square, Martin is the most fully developed and completely described personality in the text, although even his characterization is, in typical penny-dreadful style, relatively one-dimensional. Although Martin is the most recent entrant to the priory, he quickly becomes the Prior's favourite because he is skilled in "eloquence and charm" (3), and possesses a countenance that "bespoke great power, and told of strong passion, and no unusual capacity for good or evil" (4). From the beginning, Martin is depicted as a man hanging in the balance between a life of tremendous achievement in the church, or extraordinary debasement and evil. He has the inherent potential for either fate. Even his physical appearance and personal mannerisms underscore this dual nature. His face has

> a somewhat sinister look, which was partly corrected by the perfectly straightforward-looking blue eyes. . . . When not conversing Martin's appearance gave the impression of an intellect debased by cunning and evil passion; when, however, he spoke, his eloquence and manner dispelled this, and intellect only was discernable. (4)

Martin's struggle between good and evil is written onto his very features. His work in the church is similarly marked by his capacity for both good and evil. While he is an excellent and effective preacher, advanced in the study of rhetoric, Brewer writes that he "took but little interest in the works of the Fathers, and made tardy progress in theology" (4). Martin's defining characteristic, then, is his as-yet-undecided potential for either good or evil.

The character of the *femme fatale* of the narrative is not so ambiguous. Brewer introduces her indirectly, through the impressions of her neighbours, who seem to keep her under surveillance at all times. As readers, we are never privy to her internal thoughts; everything we learn about her we discover through the observations of other characters, who unanimously fear and dislike her. Her neighbours' "prying curiosity" ensures that "she was watched night and day" with "intense interest" (6). She is approximately thirty years old, and her extreme reserve keeps her separated from her community. In fact, Brewer writes that "she was viewed with suspicion, and would certainly have been forced to live elsewhere but for the fact that she was reputed to be under the special protection of a high official of the Court" (6). Aside from taking note of occasional, stealthy meetings with this mysterious official, her neighbours can discover nothing about her – not even her name, which is the only name never disclosed in the text. Brewer does state, however, that she has an "evil presence" (9). Even her physical description reveals little about the woman herself, save that it emphasizes her connection to Martin. The two have "the same black hair, the same aquiline nose and firmly sealed lips" (10). In short, aside from a strong assertion of her wickedness, Brewer reveals very little about this pivotal character.

The nameless woman's only function within the text is to act as the catalyst that brings about Martin's destruction. From the first time she approaches him, Martin is "seized with overmastering curiosity" (10) that overpowers his own better judgment. He is "struck with the remarkable similarity of her face to his own" (10) – although it strangely never seems to occur to him that she might be his long-lost sister – and finds he cannot refuse her request for meetings. Once contact is made between the two characters, an immediate change comes over Martin. Brewer writes, "His mind wandered. His interest in study slackened. . . . He was subject to shaking fits, which weakened the by no means strong frame. His face twitched, and the expression changed in a sudden, almost unnatural fashion" (13). In short, as Brewer explicitly states (there are few subtleties in penny dreadful writing), "The terrible passions had now begun to gain the upper hand, and were pointing out the pleasing downward course that ends in sin" (14). Upon his first meeting with the woman, Martin is lost. The look on his face, Brewer explains, denotes "the success of her scheme to the woman, and the victory of evil in the man" (15).

Brewer's assertion of the woman's guilt in leading Martin into sin, however, ignores the question of the woman's own motivation and circumstances. It is not, in fact, "her" scheme (15) to seduce and betray Martin, as Brewer insists. The entire plot is constructed by Thomas Audley, her courtly protector and the King's ruthless agent. It is he who installs her in her house at Aldgate, and it is he who protects her from the suspicion and malice of her neighbors. Brewer writes that the King "employed dirty men to do his dirty work" (5), and adds that Audley possesses a "wily cunning and insatiable thirst for gold" (5) that make him very dangerous. It seems unlikely that a single woman could resist his will, once he decided to use her in his plot to discredit the priory. There is one instance in which the woman attempts to withdraw from the plot, but Audley "threatened her with every punishment if she deserted the cause" (16) and she, fearing for her safety, consents to carry out the plan. Further, there is no textual evidence that the woman recognizes Martin as her brother. If he remains ignorant of their degree of relation until the very end, it seems reasonable to assume that she herself shares that ignorance. Audley is the mastermind behind this plot, and she and Martin are both victims – despite Brewer's insistence to the contrary.

The plot reaches its culmination quickly after the woman first makes contact with Martin. Brewer writes, "The victory of evil passion in Martin's strong character at first deadened in him every right feeling, and led him to gloat over the thought of leaving the monastery, and eloping with the woman whom he loved with a fierceness only possible in a man of such passionate temperament" (16). However, his plan of elopement gradually erodes as he waits impatiently for their next meeting. He falls into a feverish madness, seeing hallucinations of hell: "The raging passion told on the wasted frame and the excited brain – the man was going mad!" (18). Finally, Martin hatches a scheme far more diabolical than even Audley's, and he plans it personally, unlike the woman he loves who is coerced into her betrayal plot. Brewer explains that "the monk had method in his madness" (18). With premeditation, he leaves his cell to obtain a weapon, and when he returns "his eyes gleamed with a savage and mad delight" (18). Finally, the day of the meeting arrives. Martin has wasted away into monstrosity: "the face looked like that of a fiend, not a man; the eyes gleamed with a fierce and unnatural light, and seemed bursting from their sockets; the sleeves had fallen from the bony arm, which looked like that of a skeleton" (20). Martin, in other words, is not himself – the man is at least figuratively removed from responsibility for his crime. The couple meets at the front of the deserted church, at night. Without a word, Martin

> seized the woman by the throat; a dozen times he gashed the face; the knife descended with lightening rapidity – pools of blood deluged the altar steps. With a demon's fury the monk then threw down the corpse and trod it out of very recognition. He spat upon the mutilated face, and, with his remaining strength, he ripped the body open and cast the entrails round about. (20-21)

His crime, of course, closely resembles the murders and mutilations committed by Jack the Ripper in 1888. Martin remains unaware of the woman's plot to betray him. As far as he is concerned, he kills her – with malice aforethought – only because she provoked such love, lust, and madness in him, an ostensibly holy man. The implication is that she is at least partly to blame for her own death. The narrative voice, which constantly laments the sorry state of Martin's sanity, remains silent on the tragedy of the woman's death. The horrible scene ends in such a way that the reader is asked to pity Martin. As he suddenly recognizes his victim as his own sister, "an agonizing cry escaped his lips, he seized the knife, and plunged it deep into his heart, and fell a corpse upon his murdered sister" (21). The pathos of the scene demands identification with Martin – as, indeed, does the entire narrative. Martin, the well-intentioned, likeable monk, is provoked by a feminine temptress first to incestuous lust and then to murder, before discovering the tragic identity of the corpse. The fact that the woman has been horribly murdered is somehow incidental to Martin's own pain.

Book II of The Curse Upon Mitre Square moves briskly along, taking place two hundred years later, in the eighteenth century.[132] By this time, the story of Martin and his still-unnamed sister has become legend, and rumors of a ghostly monk are driving inhabitants away. A pub, the Mitre, now stands on the priory grounds. The proprietor, a man named Railton, obstinately holds his ground, proclaiming "the 'Mitre' and Will Railton will not shift for a Papist ghost or other foolery" (26). Still, he is the only man in the area to doubt the legend of the ghostly monk, who is said to appear between midnight and 1:00 a.m. "exactly where the altar steps of the church had formerly existed" (27). According to the legend, "*The man who, with a wicked purpose or to jeer at the monk, stands upon that spot between the hours of twelve and one and sees the ghost, will surely come to harm*" (Brewer's italics, 28). Brewer states the monk's motivation – avenging himself on those who mock or jeer him – without explaining exactly how this relates to Martin's original crime of incest and murder. Indeed, it does not seem to relate at all, which perhaps provides one reason for Rumbelow's description of the text as "nonsense" (qtd. in Smith vii).

In any case, Railton proposes to host a party in order to disprove the rumor of the haunting. He plans to recount the legend of the monk to his guests, explaining,

> I shall have primed them well with wine. When it is quite dark, they shall all move out [to the site of the murder], terrible noises shall be made, and as all

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[132] Book II's diction is presumably intended to evoke a bygone era, but Brewster's stiff and excessive usage of words like "ye" and "thou" to connote antiquity is unintentionally humorous.

> are waiting for the ghost, my daughter Rose shall spring into their midst, which, if I mistake not, will make them merry. (26)

In this way, he hopes to convince them that the legend of the monk is a harmless myth, and that they can continue to safely patronize his business. Of course, he is quite mistaken. His party guests arrive, "a merry, worthless set" (30) of gentlemen. Brewer describes them as "a dissipated crew, richly dressed; men born in a good position, nobles, soldiers, and the like, polished in manners" (29). It is quite unusual for such high-born customers to patronize the Mitre. After an evening of drinking and carousing with the "daughters of the stable-men" (29), Railton makes a toast in a "mocking-serious tone" (30): "Monk Martin, Papist priest, here's to your health; mind come and visit us to-night" (31). Unfortunately for the party, who laugh uproariously, Martin does just that. As the party sets out to call forth the monk, a sudden storm comes up. A cloud forms itself into the shape of a man, and approaches the terrified party. Brewer writes, "They shriek with terror, but cannot escape. . . . A dark and mighty mass is moving; it splits into a thousand bits, it flies at them with fierce spite, it strikes and kills, and buries its disfigured slain!" (35). Martin has a new group of victims: he buries ten young gentlemen under a collapsed stone archway – ostensibly because their mocking angers him. But Brewer's insistence on the upper-class status of the party-goers and the unsuitability of their appearance at the working-class Mitre suggests that it is the transgression of class boundaries that is the true crime. Rose, who hides indoors in a suitably feminine domestic space during the catastrophe, is not injured. Book II thus comprises a deeply conservative, cautionary tale in which a woman who conforms to her prescribed gender role is rewarded with life, and the men who transgress class boundaries are punished with death.

The final book of The Curse Upon Mitre Square addresses the murders of 1888 without retelling the events of their occurrence. Instead, an omniscient narrative voice meanders through the streets of the East End, commenting disparagingly on the squalor of the area and on the debasement of the inhabitants. This all-knowing observer judges the poor as being of "good natural character," and possessing "respected and worthy souls" (42). He does not blame the poor for the conditions in which they live, nor does he blame the wealthy for their neglect, saying they are "not uncharitable" (38), but simply ignorant. He reserves his scorn for the women of the East End. Brewer writes:

> Lastly, the girls. What are they like? Are they the types of purity and sweetness that poets love to talk of? – made by the Creator to guide the rougher natures of men unto the realm of light and love? Is this group of factory girls dressed up in ribbons and feathers of garish, screaming colours, shouting foul words, and laughing loud at every man they pass, likely to refine a home? (42)

The narrator describes these women against an ideal feminine type that is closely tied to domestic space. With their loud, mocking, and possibly drunken voices, their garish clothing, and their uncouth vocabularies these women fall far short of the Victorian feminine ideal in which woman's role is to maintain and enhance the home.

Brewer then extends his sarcastic condemnation of these women to the actual victims of Jack the Ripper. After describing the women of Whitechapel as unrefined and worthy of scorn, Brewer zeroes in on one particular East End woman: Catherine Eddowes – the only historical victim he mentions by name. He writes,

> With the aid of the policeman's bulls-eye we see a sight so horrible that full particulars cannot be printed, but it is a counterpart of that which the monks of Holy Trinity saw when they arrived at that identical spot in the year 1530. . . . The piece of ground on which Catherine Eddowes lies is the exact point where the steps of the high altar of Holy Trinity existed, and where the catastrophe to the ten foolish gallants occurred two centuries later. (44-45)

Eddowes is the latest in the string of Mitre Square tragedies that has included an extensive series of victims. By naming Eddowes as one of Martin's victims, Brewer implicitly explains her death as a result of the loud, mocking laughter her fellow East End women exhibit. Like them, she presumably defied Victorian standards of femininity and mocked "every man" (42) she passed, thus angering Martin's ghost and bringing about her own death. Eddowes ultimately bears responsibility for the crime.

The final section of the text is a strange, ambivalent meditation brought upon the narrator by fatigue and "sympathy," which allows him to see through "the veil of the future" (45). Brewer relates a supernatural vision of Mitre Square, filled with "a stream of Magdalens" filing through "the wreath of incense, [and] a choir of angels" (45). The heavenly apparition causes him to exclaim "to all wanderers in this troublesome world: – 'Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow! Though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool!'" (46).[133] Although Brewer addresses this statement to an unspecified audience, it is Martin, as the perpetrator of multiple murders, to whom it most directly applies. Brewer thus absolves Martin even though he has not been appeased, and remains free to continue with his violent vengeance. In this way, Brewer implicitly sanctions Martin's work of enforcing both gender and class boundaries, while simultaneously envisioning the overall narrative of the Ripper murders as a narrative of men and the harm done to them by chaotic women. The historical reality of female victimization during the Ripper crisis is lost.

Jack the Ripper in New York – the Lady and the Harpy

W.B. Lawson's Jack the Ripper in New York (1891) transplants the killer from London to America, placing the Ripper in the teeming city of New York. The densely-plotted 29-page narrative details two interlaced cases, each of which is being investigated by detective Ward Crane, a tough predecessor of the hard-boiled detective popular in twentieth-century fiction.[134] The first case involves the innocent and lovely Miss Rachel Radway, the heir – along with her thuggish brother Rudolf – to a large fortune left by her father. Miss Rachel is under pressure from her brother to provide him with a secret document left by her father in her keeping, since he believes the document will allow him to inherit a larger share of the estate. Miss

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[133] The quoted passage is a Biblical reference from Isaiah 1:18, which entails God's offer of forgiveness to the city of Jerusalem.
[134] Crane is a private investigator not in the official employ of the police, although he appears to be on close terms with many police officials.

Rachel hires Crane to protect both her and the mysterious document. She also asks him to find a former servant, now fallen on hard times, who knows the secret of the document. She hopes to buy the woman's silence before her brother can wring the secret out of her. The second case follows quickly on the heels of the first: Crane discovers the servant, now calling herself "Old Shakespeare," living in debased poverty on Water Street.[135] Before he can speak to her, however, she is killed and horribly mutilated by "the terrible Whitechapel butcher [who has] opened business in New York" (13). His second investigation is thus discovering the identity of the killer. Although Crane feels confident that he will easily apprehend his suspect since the unsuccessful London Police are "the most stupid body of men he ever met" (21), the case proves trickier than expected. The narrative moves rapidly to its dual conclusions: Rudolf turns physically violent and seizes the secret document from his sister; it explains, to his shock, that he is not a legitimate child of the deceased Radway patriarch, and disinherits him. In her infinite kindness, Miss Rachel had been attempting to shield her undeserving brother from this truth. Meanwhile, Crane discovers through his investigation that the Ripper is in fact a mad Italian sailor named Garcia, who eludes capture and sets sale for Europe before Crane can apprehend him. As the story ends, Crane sets out on Garcia's tail, having extracted a promise of marriage from Miss Rachel upon his return.

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[135] A woman named "Old Shakespeare" was killed in New York in April, 1891. Her death was attributed by many to Jack the Ripper. The New York Herald, for example, ran the following headline on April 25: "Ghastly Butchery by a 'Jack the Ripper.' Murder and Mutilation in Local Whitechapel Almost Identical with the Terrible Work of the Mysterious London Fiend. Strangled First, Then Cut to Pieces" (1). Lawson's text appropriates several facts from the case to ensure current relevance and – as always – higher sales to a population already fascinated with the case. These facts include the victim's name, the nature of her death, and the names of the suspects: "Frenchy #1" and "Frenchy #2."

Lawson's story is a significant entry in the cultural evolution of the Ripper narrative in that it imaginatively expands the geographical area of the Ripper's criminal activity from a small section of London's East End to international territory. This internationalization of the narrative, however, falls short of suggesting that the problem of the Ripper's violence has become an American – or even world-wide – crisis. Instead, like many of the British newspapers examined in Chapter Two of this dissertation, it posits the Ripper's crimes as an imported problem, one that takes place amongst foreigners in spaces largely inhabited by immigrants and other undesirables. It is unconnected to American culture, and the woman killed by the Ripper in New York, although she is an American, is depicted as unattractive, unprincipled, and wholly deserving of the punishment she ultimately receives at the hands of the Ripper. Two types of women are represented in Jack the Ripper in New York: pure, chaste, good, beautiful women, and evil, degenerate, avaricious criminals. The narrative is set up as a contest between these two types of feminine representation: will Miss Rachel succeed in locating and silencing the debased Old Shakespeare? Or will Old Shakespeare infect the upper-class gentility of the Radway home with her chaotic and sexually charged criminal presence? Notably, it is only the intervention of Jack the Ripper that prevents the collision of these two types of femininity, and the sure victory of Old Shakespeare. By killing Old Shakespeare, he ensures that Miss Rachel's innocence and purity remain intact, thus reinforcing the gender roles that structure each woman's life. In Lawson's tale, the Ripper's role is to violently enforce conventional gender roles that place women firmly within domestic space, subordinate to men's power. And far from opposing him, detective Crane is an implicit adjunct in this task.

While the narrative takes place in New York City, Lawson repeatedly characterizes its Water Street setting as "The Whitechapel of New York" (2). In his very first description of the area, he writes, "Here night after night occur scenes such as would shock the senses of any but the most depraved – crimes and sin flaunt their ugly heads – debauchery runs riot – it is a hell-hole that will ever remain a black spot on a fair city" (2). And Lawson insists again on the same page that Water Street is "the Whitechapel of Gotham" (2). The setting of the crimes is thus detached from the rest of the city of New York. It retains many of the features expressed in British Ripper narratives: the poverty-stricken slums, dark streets, opium dens, criminal elements, questionable drinking establishments, and rampant prostitution all echo conventional descriptions of Whitechapel. Crane legitimizes his characterization of Water Street as British by asserting, "it chanced to be my fortune to be in London at the time two of Jack's poor victims were found" (13). He has personal experience of the places he describes, and the reader must thus trust his authority, particularly since Crane is our reliable, first-person narrator. The area is thus more closely associated with London than it is with New York, and its unsavory aspects are, by implication, not a problem with which patriotic Americans need concern themselves.

Water Street also shares the largely immigrant demographic of London's Whitechapel, which further emphasizes the foreignness of the Ripper's crimes, while continuing to displace the area itself into British space. Crane relates, for example, that

> The streets swarm with Dagoes, men, women, and children, many of them clad in the picturesque garb of their native country, chattering like a multitude of parrots. . . . At such time it does not need much of a stretch of the imagination to believe one's self across the ocean on the shore of the Adriatic. (14)

There is nothing recognizably American about the scene Crane describes; the district is, for him, more analogous to an unnamed, vaguely European country than to his own. Further, each of the suspects Crane considers as possible Rippers is decidedly foreign – in fact, each is defined primarily by his ethnic difference from mainstream Americans. Crane develops something of a profile for the killer before he even identifies suspects, stating "he is a sailor, I am sure, and something of a foreigner" (18). Finally, his suspect list dwindles to three, all of whom receive mixed and confusing racial attribution. Foremost on the list of suspects is an Italian man who is given an almost stereotypically Spanish name, Jose Garcia, with no explanation. Next is a French man with a heavy accent named Jules Ferry. In his narration, Crane refers to him only as "Frenchy" (19) – never by name. Lawson further describes this Frenchman as having skin "nearly as dark as a nigger's" (20), again confusing racial stereotypes in his drive to emphasize the foreign extraction of the suspect. The final suspect is mentioned, but never seriously considered by Crane. A cousin to "Frenchy," he is called "Frenchy No. 2, in order to distinguish him from the original"

(21). No other name is given. By the time Crane works down his list to the third suspect, racial identity is the sole descriptor of the individual. Despite these strongly-worded racial differences, however, Crane adds, "If all the three suspects were all radically different-looking men, the guilt could be readily placed, but they all agree in numerous particulars" (27). In short, they are undifferentiatedly foreign. Lawson thus imagines the American activity of the Ripper in such a way that he poses no actual threat to American interests. He is a foreigner, living and committing his crimes in a foreign sector of the city. While the Ripper was regarded by many British pundits as a reformer who drew attention to the inequities in British society that allowed such a large number of people to live in abject poverty with no hope of relief,[136] Lawson transplants the Ripper into America without echoing these concerns about the legitimacy of the social status quo of the nation.

The only American truly affected by the Ripper's crimes in New York is Old Shakespeare, the woman he kills. And Lawson characterizes her in such a way that it is difficult to feel sympathy for her in her brutal death. Crane first describes Miss Rachel's former servant as "an outcast, past the meridian of life – a poor, wretched creature and one of the great class of unfortunates" (2). She also is homeless, and therefore difficult to trace. Lawson writes that she left Miss Rachel's employ because of disastrous character flaws:

> Her love of liquor caused her to squander a small fortune left by her husband. She became a street walker, and as years went on, secured a hold upon a

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[136] See, for example, my discussion of Reynolds's Newspaper in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

> merchant on Broadway, making him pay blackmail to keep away from him. It was said she received as much as thirty dollars a month. Being free with her money, this is spent as soon as received. (9)

Clearly, Old Shakespeare has been given many chances in her life, but she is apparently unable to live in a virtuous way, choosing to pursue alcoholism, blackmail and prostitution despite other, more worthy possibilities. Crane explains that she is of interest to him only because she "carries a secret with her I desire to possess" (3). She is a frustration, an agent of chaos that threatens the orderly, higher-class world of the detective and his client. Only the secret she carries marks her as valuable.

Crane's plan to "hide her away – to get her off to some other city, so that none of her old associates will know where she is" (5) may be an effective way of guarding Miss Rachel's secret, but it amounts to little more than kidnapping. Crane seeks to control Old Shakespeare's movements and interactions, so that no one will ever uncover the secret he has been employed to keep. Where he fails, Jack the Ripper steps in and silences her forever, unknowingly aiding Crane. In fact, Crane's first reaction after the discovery of Old Shakespeare's dead and mutilated body acknowledges his complicity: "Strange though it may appear, one of my first thoughts is, 'Rachel's secret is safe; they can't get it from dead lips'" (12). In a sense, Crane and the Ripper are unconsciously engaged in the same project: the subordination, control and silencing of women. Only their methods are different.

Lawson's text further suggests that Old Shakespeare is representative of an entire class of women. Instead of granting her any sense of individualism or autonomy, he argues, "she is but one of that vast army of wretched women who live in sin" (9). The metaphor of an "army" of women is apt; the remainder of Jack the Ripper in New York sets up a binary between what Lawson depicts as the only two possible types of femininity: the evil sinner and the pure innocent. In Lawson's retelling of the Ripper narrative, there is no middle ground. On one side of the binary are multitudes of nameless, faceless "harpies" (10), women who prey on men, constantly "seeking whom they may devour" (10). Significantly, these women are entirely represented within the text by women living in abject poverty. Class, it seems, is an important factor in female virtue, and a lack of money signals a lack of morality that threatens to ensnare men.

On the other side of the binary are women like Miss Rachel: demure, beautiful, young, wealthy, and respectful of male authority. Upon his first visit to the Radway home, Crane explains that Miss Rachel "has gained my admiration by her womanly qualities" (6). He specifically focuses on her hospitality and domestic skills to provide a point of comparison with the "harpies" living in sin; Crane relates, "I sink into an easy chair that receives my form into its luxurious softness, and somehow the thought comes to me, and I compare this scene with the terrible dens I have recently left" (6). Crane takes an almost sensuous pleasure in Miss Rachel's company, but this pleasure is far removed from the overt sexuality of the debased women who work as prostitutes. Miss Rachel's identity is tied to the appropriately feminine purview of domestic space in a way that prostitutes' identities are not. Although she may provide sensual pleasure, Crane is quick to assert that "she is an angel" (6). The lengths to which she goes in order to protect her undeserving brother from the hurtful document given to her by her father bear this out. Although she stands to inherit the entire Radway fortune if her brother is disinherited, she first hides the document away in order to protect him, and then, when he finds it, offers to share her fortune with him anyway. She tells him, "If you behave yourself you shall enjoy my father's fortune as though half of it were really yours" (22). Her protective and improving impulses further mark her as a good woman. Instead of harming men, she actively aids them, even at her own considerable expense.

The narrative of Jack the Ripper in New York thus enacts a binary between two types of femininity. In its conclusion, it strictly enforces that binary. As the representative of the sinful woman, Old Shakespeare is horribly killed by Jack the Ripper. Crane relates that when he sees her body in the seedy hotel room in which she dies, "Marks upon the throat show that she has been choked. . . . The dirty mattress is soaked with blood, and portions of the human body have been tossed there as if in pure devilry" (12).[137] Although Crane is horrified by the resultant gore, he expresses no sorrow at the woman's death. After his first expression of relief that Miss Rachel's secret is now safe, he searches the room for clues that might lead him to the identity of Jack the Ripper. It is neither surprising nor upsetting that Old Shakespeare has been killed; indeed, it is in keeping with the lifestyle she has chosen. In short, Lawson implies that Old Shakespeare's death is the punishment she deserves for her many transgressions of conventional femininity and for the threat she poses to Miss Rachel.

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[137] Note that the Ripper's real victims had their throats slashed; they were not choked.

Further, her punishment has an educational effect: other women of Old Shakespeare's type seem to recognize that the punishment she endured is a possibility for them, as well, and Lawson foregrounds the currents of fear that run through the poverty-stricken women of Water Street after the murder. Crane notes that "A deadly fear has fallen upon the women of this benighted district" (20). Their fear is so great that it keeps them indoors; Crane further observes that "Few women are on the street" (23) in the days and nights following the murders. Their fear prevents them from engaging in their habitual public alcoholic consumption and prostitution. Old Shakespeare's brutal punishment thus extends beyond her own experience to affect all members of her community: her death sends many women like her back into the domestic realm where they belong. Miss Rachel, on the other hand, is ostensibly rewarded for her virtuous and womanly behavior. The text has nothing but continuous praise for her beauty and feminine warmth. After her brother discovers the contents of the secret documents, she is in a position of financial power – and even though she offers to share her fortune with her brother, she makes this offer on her own terms. She is further rewarded with the promise of a loving husband, in the person of Ward Crane. He asks for her hand in marriage, and she acquiesces with a single word: "Yes" (29). Although we are never privy to her thoughts and she never expresses her feelings, Crane speaks for her, happily explaining, "she loves me" (29). The conventional femininity represented by Miss Rachel thus triumphs over the threat posed by Old Shakespeare and her ilk, and the feminine binary is firmly entrenched.

Within the text, only Miss Rachel seems to occasionally comprehend that the binary opposition that structures her gender role is a construction rather than a natural fact, and that in her apparent triumph at the end of the narrative, she has not gained a victory in her own interests at all. When she hears of Old Shakespeare's death, for example, she is neither exultant nor even relieved, as Crane is on her behalf. He tells her, "One thing is sure – this awful crime seems like the hand of fate to help you. That secret will die with poor Old Shakespeare" (13). She replies, "That is true, but I would not have it for the world. Better a dozen times that Rudolph learned what he seeks to know, than that even the most worthless human life should be sacrificed" (13). In Miss Rachel's opinion – which no other character shares – Old Shakespeare's life is worth far more than her own familial intrigues. Although many people express horror over the mutilated body, Miss Rachel is the only character to express grief. "Poor Carrie!" (13) she exclaims, uniquely using the woman's first name. "To think she should have met a fate like this!" (13). Miss Rachel herself dismisses Crane's implication that her interests are in direct opposition to those of her former servant, as if she cannot see the feminine binary within which Crane locates her.

Further, although Crane repeatedly describes her as "sensible" (23) and "intelligent" (23), he withholds pertinent information about her affairs – in which he is nothing more than an employee – ostensibly for fear of upsetting her. At their first meeting, he sets out the model for his subsequent treatment of her. He has been pursing the investigation for which she has hired him, and yet he explains, "I would not dare mention a tenth of what I have looked upon this night to such innocent ears as hers" (6). At their next meeting, he edits his report on the murder investigation, since he feels that the details "might not interest her" (13), although this is surely unlikely. Later, he excludes other facts "so that all may be said that is necessary, without offending her finer sensibilities" (23). In short, Crane tells his employer only what he feels she should know, and refuses to impart the rest. Miss Rachel's apparent victory at the end of the narrative is thus not a victory for her as an individual, since any power she appears to hold is quickly undercut by her soon-to-be husband. Rather, it is a victory for the gender binary that structures her experience of the world, and ensures that she remains an innocent woman, firmly established within the domestic sphere, and ignorant even of her own affairs. Although Miss Rachel recognizes the falsity of the feminine binary that sets her at odds with Old Shakespeare, she is ultimately unable to resist it.

Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer – It Takes a Woman to Catch a Woman Killer

Fictional private detective Ethel King was something of a penny dreadful phenomenon in the early years of the twentieth century. Her character appeared in publications written by various unrelated authors in German, French, and English – often as the star of her own series of narratives. It was somewhat unusual for a female to take the lead role in a detective narrative; however, while Ethel King was remarkably popular, she was not the first woman detective to star in a penny dreadful. Frances A. DellaCava and Madeline H. Engle have found that in the American market alone there were enough early twentieth-century women detectives that it is possible to compile a list of their common characteristics.[138] These characters, DellaCava and Engle argue, are typically "ladylike, respectable, and untrained, yet successful sleuths. Many were unemployed, portrayed as financially independent, middle- and upper-class society matrons" (4-5). Ethel King herself exhibits all of these characteristics. The version of the character that appears in Jean Petithuguenin's French text Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer (1912) is thus significantly influenced by her predecessors.

Despite the popularity of Ethel King and her female penny dreadful colleagues, as late as 2007 Lisa M. Dresner observes that the mystery genre "still lacks a comprehensive theory that adequately theorizes the place of the female detective" (1). Such an over-arching theory may not be possible; Dresner's own attempt to provide such a theory falls somewhat short. She asserts that her theory of female detectives as "fundamentally flawed" (2) holds true "in all media, at all time periods" (2) – an argument that requires significantly more nuanced consideration. Certainly, it offers little insight into Ethel King, who is always depicted in a positive light, without any apparent character flaws. In fact, Ethel King resists most attempts to define or categorize female detectives as a whole. Glenwood Irons, in her book Feminism in Women's Detective Fiction, argues that "the woman detective has seldom been perceived as having an individuality equivalent to that of the male detective" (x), that she usually "operates apart from the local police" (x), and finally that women detectives' "abilities are automatically suspect because they are women" (xvi). As we shall see, Ethel King defies each one of Irons' generic precepts, exhibiting a sarcastic wit that emphasizes her individuality, befriending the police chief and taking charge of a group of local police when necessary, and enjoying the overt respect and admiration of a wide range of professional men. Kathleen Gregory Klein's seminal text The Woman Detective: Gender and Genre makes a similar attempt to categorize narratives concerning female detectives. It argues that the woman detective is always "shown as [either] an incompetent detective or an inadequate woman" (5), since the conventional feminine gender role renders the two categories incommensurable: the passivity and domesticity associated with traditional femininity is at odds with the activities necessary for successful detective work. Again, this offers little insight into the character of Ethel King, who is both a successful and highly regarded detective, and an attractive, competent woman. Petithuguenin never implies that her femininity is endangered by her activities as a professional detective – in fact, quite the opposite.

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[138] Some of these early women detectives are Pauline Hargrav, Dora Courage, Mary Peart, and the Automobile Girls. DellaCava and Engle provide an in-depth discussion of several such early female detectives. For further reading, see Joan Warthling Roberts' article "Amelia Butterworth: The Spinster Detective."

Petithuguenin's narrative, though written and published in France, is set in Philadelphia, continuing the trend of the internationalization of the Ripper narrative that we first saw in Jack the Ripper in New York. By setting the story in a country foreign to France, Petithuguenin also employs a distancing technique common to many Ripper narratives. The threat represented by the Ripper is a foreign problem; it is interesting, but not personally relevant for a French audience. The story revolves around the adventures of private detective Ethel King – specifically, her involvement with the Jack the Ripper case, which begins when she receives a bouquet of flowers from a mysterious admirer. Immediately she discovers a small bomb hidden in the bouquet, and uncovers a plot to assassinate her. She defuses the bomb, displaying her usual courage and aplomb, and begins to investigate the attempted murder using all the resources at her disposal, including a highly-convincing disguise, her well-trained employees, and her acquaintance with the rather slow-witted chief of police. After capturing one of the Ripper's criminal agents, she receives a letter from the Ripper himself, again threatening her life – a detective of her capability is too serious a threat to his continued freedom, he explains. In the mean time, he has begun his work in America, killing and mutilating an elegant and wealthy female theatre-goer. Having tracked the Ripper's associate back to his lair, Ethel assembles a group of policemen and moves in to make an arrest. Although she receives a minor injury in the resulting scuffle, Ethel successfully affects the arrest of the Ripper and his associates.[139] The Ripper is eventually condemned to death by electrocution – defeated, finally, once and for all. Throughout the entire narrative, Ethel retains complete control of the case, displays intelligence and courage that far surpass any other character, and remains unquestionably the hero of the story.

Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer is highly preoccupied with questions of gender, but not in the way Dresner, Irons, Klein, and other theorists of detective fiction might expect. These scholars all agree that women in detective narratives are hampered by their sex. Since they are women, they "faint at the drop of a hat" (Dresner 11), betrayed by the weakness and incapability of the female body – a body that is "intrinsically flawed because it is female" (Dresner 11). In fact, most critics agree, the very genre itself "encodes gender-based structures of power" (Klein 92). In a metafictional twist, the character of Jack the Ripper within Petithuguenin's narrative appears to recognize this convention, and attempts to take advantage of what he assumes to be Ethel King's feminine weaknesses in order to elude and ultimately kill her. King, instead of responding in the generically expected way and awaiting rescue by a stronger, more competent man, refuses to succumb to the Ripper's gendered plot. Instead, she cannily uses the very aspects of her femininity that the Ripper takes for weaknesses as weapons in her battle against him. The Ripper misinterprets King's femininity as a weakness; his inability to see power in a woman is what brings about his downfall. In this way, Petithuguenin's Ripper narrative enacts a radical shift in the gendered lines of power that structure the case. Instead of representing women as passive victims, Petithuguenin reimagines the Ripper case as a cautionary tale about the dangers of underestimating female power.

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[139] Petithuguenin's suggestion that the Ripper is a member of a group of criminals echoes police speculation during the first Ripper murders in 1888 that the killer might be a member or members of a gang. This theory was quickly discounted.

The tale opens in Ethel's home, where she lives with her housekeeper Sara Cramp, an adolescent boy named Charley Lux who functions as Ethel's assistant, and a large, protective dog named Pluto. Her house is on "Garden Street" (1), an idyllic setting full of small gardens, beautiful homes, and friendly neighbors. Petithuguenin describes Ethel as a celebrated, successful detective – in fact, as the first female detective in the world (1). We first see her as she sits at the desk in her study, "absorbed in comparing different handwritings" (3)[140] – a decidedly professional task. Petithuguenin then offers a physical description, writing, "She was a slim, supple woman, but impressively strong, and her energetic and cleanly-drawn face was illuminated by grey eyes of unusual vivacity" (2).[141] Thus our first impression of Ethel is one of contented success: she has a lovely home in a beautiful neighborhood, and even a family, of sorts. Sara and Charley may technically be Ethel's employees, but their interactions are imbued with familiarity and affection. Although she is not married, Ethel discharges her feminine domestic duties admirably; she also generally conforms to the feminine ideal of physical attractiveness. It is the way she combines this conformity to feminine ideals with her professional activities as a detective that sets her apart from the prototypical female detective described by Dresner, Irons, Klein, and others. Unlike the scholarly prototype articulated by Klein, Ethel neither subordinates her femininity in order to be a successful detective, nor sacrifices her detective work to the limitations of her sex. From the first two pages of Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer, Petithuguenin depicts his female heroine as a successful embodiment of both femininity and professionalism. Even her attractive physical form is described as being simultaneously strong – and Petithuguenin leaves no doubt that this is a positive attribute.

The plot quickly develops: a young errand boy comes to the door to deliver a large bouquet of flowers to Ethel. Sara accepts them, saying, "Miss will be thrilled to receive such beautiful flowers" (2).[142] She assumes they are a gift from an admirer, and that they will "naturally" (5) touch Ethel's heart.[143] A card from an unknown stranger calling himself Henry Alton accompanies the bouquet, professing deep love and admiration for Ethel; Sara teasingly asks her, "does this mean you are thinking of marriage?" (5).[144] Ethel, however, just laughs. Unlike Sara, she is not taken in by the ruse, and immediately realizes that the flowers disguise a deadly secret. "I believe I have acquired an admirer," she says sardonically. "He seems to love me to the point that he's not content to see to my happiness on earth – but my eternal happiness, as well!" (4).[145] She quickly reveals the tiny explosive device hidden amongst the flowers, much to Sara and Charley's horror. Ethel apparently feels no fear: she quickly disarms the bomb, rendering it harmless. In the face of Sara and Charley's alarm, Ethel "burst out in joyful laughter" (7),[146] seeming to find the entire incident more hilarious than frightening. The mysterious stranger behind the attempted assassination, we later learn, is Jack the Ripper – and this is his first attempt to use Ethel's femininity against her. His scheme hinges upon the assumption that Ethel cannot be both a woman and a competent detective. Assuming that her feminine desire for beautiful flowers and masculine attention will win out over her detective abilities, the Ripper's plot fails when Ethel proves more capable than expected.

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[140] "[O]ccupée à étudier différentes écritures" (2).
[141] "C'était une femme mince et souple, mais qu'on devinait admirablement muscle, et dont le visage, aux traits énergiques et nettement desinés, était éclairé par des yeux gris, d'une vivacité singulière" (2).

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[142] "Miss va être ravie de recevoir si belles fleurs" (2).
[143] "[N]aturellement" (5).
[144] "Et alors vous voulez [illegible] vous mariez?" (5).
[145] "Je crois, en éffet, que je me suis acquis un adorateur. . . . Il paraît m'aimer au point de ne pas se contenter d'avoir en vue mon bonheur sur la terre, mais de vouloir faire ma félicité éternelle" (4).
[146] "Ethel King éclata joyeusement de rire" (7).

In fact, Ethel turns this failed attempt on her life to her advantage, immediately launching a multi-pronged investigation. She calls in some young agents to investigate the delivery boy, and sends Charley out to track down the agent behind the delivery, telling him to follow the man back to his lair. By arrangement, Charley leaves a trail of chalk-marks behind him and Ethel, in disguise, follows. Thus does Ethel discover the criminal's location, an innocent-looking house with a public courtyard. Realizing that she cannot storm the house on her own, Ethel turns to her friend Inspector Golding, the chief of police. When Ethel arrives at his office in disguise, Golding is unable to recognize her until she identifies herself, which is an indication of her skill as a detective. "You disguise yourself remarkably well!" (12) he compliments her. "I certainly wouldn't have recognized you" (12).[147] And he is happy to see her, too, saying "I'm pleased every time you come, Miss King, since you always bring along something new" (12).[148] The chief clearly regards Ethel as an equal – although her skills are actually demonstrably superior to his own. He also respects her authority. When Ethel explains her desire to search the mysterious house, Golding immediately offers her the command of a squad of officers – "As many as you want!" (13).[149] The trust and respect with which the most powerful member of the official police force treats Ethel confirm her standing as a professional detective.

Planning the raid for the next day, Ethel and Charley return home and pass a typically adventure-filled night, in which Ethel cleverly eludes yet another assassination attempt by an agent of the Ripper. The next morning, she receives an extraordinary letter from the Ripper himself. Addressed somewhat possessively to "My ardently-loved Ethel King," the letter is again written in mock-romantic prose. It reads:

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[147] "Vraiment vous vous déguisez d'admirable façon. Je ne vous aurais certainement pas reconnue" (12).

[148] "[C]haque fois que vous venez, je suis content, Miss King, car vous apportez toujours quelque chose de nouveau" (12).

[149] "Tant que vous voudrais!" (13).

> Yesterday, following my heart, I tried to procure your free passage into the next world. But I found, to my deep chagrin, that you do not return my love – otherwise, you would surely not have refused such a delicious distraction. Be that as it may, I will not let you go. As a loyal admirer I assure you, the hour will come when you will do me the pleasure of taking that journey. (19)[150]

The Ripper's habitual tactic of couching physical threats against Ethel in the language of love is a sign of his contempt for her gender; it figuratively reduces her status from capable agent and equal of the chief of police, to romantic object. In this semantic positioning, the fact of Ethel's femininity precludes her role as a detective, and relegates her back into the domestic realm of marriage and subservience to men. The letter also suggests a possible psychological motive for the Ripper's criminal activities: he pathologically blends love (or attraction) with violence – which throws light on his criminal activities, as well. Petithuguenin's story emphasizes more clearly than any other we have examined thus far the importance of gender in the Ripper narrative.

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[150] "Mon Ethel King, ô femme ardemment aimée: J'ai voulu hier, cédant à l'inclination de mon Coeur, vour procurer le passage gratuite dans l'autre monde; mais j'ai dû constate, à mon bien profond chagrin, que je ne trouve pas en vous un amour répondant au mien, car autrement vous ne vous seriez certainement pas réfusée à une si délicieuse distraction. Quoi qu'il en soit, je vous assore que, comme tout veritable amoureux, je ne vous lâcherai pas, et que l'heure sonnera oû vous me ferez le plaisir de faire le voyage" (19).

The rest of the letter turns to professional matters. The Ripper identifies himself as the infamous criminal, and writes,

> Over the years, dozens of your male colleagues have tried everything they could think of to arrest me, but I always gave them the slip. I came across the ocean to see how I would succeed in my trade here. But I learned from my brave and honest colleagues that in this country where nothing is impossible, a woman, a certain Ethel King, devotes herself to hunting criminals instead of staying at home to knit. That struck me quite forcibly, and I conceived a violent inclination for you. My colleagues and I made a bet that I would promptly dispatch you into the next world. The business has already begun. Although you survived last night, I will not cease paying you all the small attentions of love until I have made you happy, my beloved, in spite of yourself. (19-20)[151]

Again, he implies that Ethel is acting outside of her proper feminine role when she engages in detective work – in fact, he makes it clear that this is the source of the danger she now faces. He seems to fear her more than any of the "male colleagues" who have failed to apprehend him, suggesting that he considers her more successful than male detectives, even though she is a female. Her very success in the male realm is what threatens the Ripper, and with his "violent inclination" he hopes to force her back into female passivity – specifically, the ultimate passivity of death which he forces upon all his victims.

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[151] "[D]ouzaines de vos collègues mâles . . . se sont, pendant des années, donné instilement toutes les peines du monde pour me prendre. Je leur si [illegible] fait la nique, et je viens de traverser l'Océan pour voir un peu comment je réussirai dans mon métier ici. Mais voilà que j'apprends, parmis mes braves et honnêtes collègues, que, dans ce pays, où rien n'est impossible, un femme, une certaine Ethel King, au lieu de rester chez elle à tricoter des bas, s'adonne à la chasse aux criminels. Cela m'a paru un peu fort, et c'est justement ce qui m'a tout de suite inspiré une violente inclination pour vous, car j'aime la force. Et alors j'ai fait, avec plusieurs de mes camarades et associés, le pari que je vous expédierai très promptement hors de ce monde. L'affaire est déjà commencée. Vous avez survéau à la journée d'hier, mais je ne cesserai de vous entourer infassablement de petites attentions amoureuses du même genre, jusqu'à ce que je sois parvenu à rendre ma bien-aimée heureuse en dépit d'elle-même" (19-20).

The Ripper ends his letter with the further threat that in addition to killing Ethel, he plans to reenter his criminal "trade" that very night by selecting and murdering a random woman. By the time Ethel has read the letter, the deed has already been carried out, and this precipitates the climax of the narrative. Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer is unique amongst Ripper fictionalizations in its depiction of the Ripper's victim as a respectable, upper-class woman. As Ethel learns from the newspapers as she rushes to police headquarters, the dead woman, Mrs. Carry, is "an elegant woman" (22),[152] the wife of a wealthy and prominent manufacturer, and this is not presented as a departure for the Ripper. Mrs. Carry was on her way home from an evening at the theatre when she was waylaid and killed. Petithuguenin never suggests that the women the Ripper targets share any measure of responsibility for their deaths, nor does he question their social respectability. In fact, his is the only Ripper narrative in the period covered by this dissertation that actually raises the social standing of the victims, placing them in a social sphere far above that of the actual victims killed in London's East End. This shift in status has the effect of subtly challenging the reader's own possible biases. Petithuguenin implicitly asks, why is the death of a high-society woman more of a tragedy than the death of a working woman?

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[152] "[U]ne dame élégante" (22).

Much of Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer is concerned with the roles – gender and other – that people script for themselves and for others. The murder of Mrs. Carry has a galvanizing effect on Ethel, and she immediately sets in motion her plan to capture the Ripper. At all times, she is the intelligence and the driving force behind the operation; Chief Golding and his men trail behind, somewhat confused, awaiting her directions. When Ethel arrives at the police station and explains that the man who has been threatening her is also Jack the Ripper, Golding is stunned into inaction. Ethel takes charge immediately, commandeering a group of officers for the raid on the Ripper's lair. "Take whatever you want," Golding tells her gratefully. "And I'll come with you. I'd like to be there when the master criminal is caught" (25).[153] Here, Golding scripts himself into a supporting role, allowing Ethel to take the lead. Ethel herself attributes part of her success to her gender. She considers herself lucky to have received the Ripper's letter, since it gave away so much of his plan, and remarks: "my sex has more than once been of great advantage to me in capturing certain criminals, since they don't expect a female to dare go so far as to pursue them" (23).[154] The Ripper, although he respects Ethel's skill enough to consider her a threat, also believes her femininity to be a weakness. His threatening love letters attempt to prey on her supposed vulnerability to male attention. Ethel, however, appears to be acutely aware of the power relations inherent in gender categorization, and she uses this knowledge to turn her sex to her advantage.

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[153] "Vous aurez ce que vous voudrez, et j'irai avec eux. Je désire être là quand ce gaillard sera capturé" (25).

[154] "[M]on sexe m'avais plus d'une fois remarquablement aidée à découvrir certains malfaiteurs, car ses messieurs les coquins ne se figurant pas qu'une femme se risquera jamais à les pourchasser" (23).

Ethel and her entourage of police officers stealthily enter the Ripper's lair to find four men asleep on the floor. Three are unremarkable, but the fourth is elegantly dressed, though hideously-featured: "His shaven face was marked with the impression of all his vices, and he had a ferocious, repellant expression, even in sleep" (29).[155] Again breaking with pre-existing Ripper narratives, Petithuguenin depicts the criminal as a dangerous, ugly, sordid individual, far from the mysterious and strangely alluring anti-hero imagined by others. The cover illustration of the text depicts this scene; Ethel stands over the supine men, her power and authority absolute.[156] She orders the police to stay back, explaining that she wants the Ripper to wake to "his beloved Ethel" (29),[157] and thus enters into the Ripper's rhetoric of love, wielding it against him like a weapon. The two characters exchange quips, each using the same rhetoric in an attempt to place the other into a position of semantic vulnerability. "Wake up!" Ethel tells him, standing over him with a gun. "Your beloved is here. . . . Did you have sweet dreams?" (29).[158] She continues,

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[155] "Son visage rasé était d'ailleurs marqué du stigmate de tous les vices et avait une expression féroce st repoussante, même dans le sommeil" (29).
[156] See Appendix of Illustrations, Figure 15.
[157] "[S]on Ethel bien-aimée" (29).
[158] "Réveillez-vous! Votre bien-aimée est là. . . . Avez-vous eu de beaux rêves?" (29).

> I came to invite you to join me for a little walk. Once we're outside, I will properly thank you for the splendid roses you sent to me yesterday, and also for the love letter which enabled me to visit you this evening. (30)[159,160]

Ethel makes it very clear to the Ripper that it is his underestimation of her abilities that has allowed her to find him. Her rather savage sarcasm suggests that she finds his attempt to reduce her to feminine passivity very offensive indeed. The Ripper wakes and returns her opening salvo, rallying his groggy comrades with the command, "let's celebrate my nuptials in a way that will really astonish her!" (30).[161] In the resulting mêlée, Jack and his men fight fiercely. Before they are subdued, one of the criminals is killed and two are injured, as are four policemen. Ethel displays her physical courage by participating in the confrontation herself. She receives a minor injury to her arm, but manages to arrest the elusive criminal – succeeding where dozens of men before her have failed. Petithuguenin's narrative thus suggests that it takes a woman detective to put an end to the woman killer's crimes. The murderer, we are told, is sentenced to death by electrocution; Ethel thus obtains a form of retribution for the murders of his victims.

Petithuguenin's extended metaphor of a love relationship between Ethel and the Ripper also makes a larger comment on the nature of gender roles and the resulting relationships between men and women. By drawing a parallel between the

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[159] Je suis venue pour vous inviter à une pétite promenade. Quand nous serons dehors, je vous dirai tous les remerciements de mon coeur pour les roses splendides que vous m'avez envoyées hier, et aussi toute ma gratitude pour le messager d'amour qui, cette nuit, m'a fait visite de votre part!" (30).
[160] There appears to be an error in the narrative's timeline; Ethel leaves for the police station first thing in the morning, yet it is already evening by the time she reaches the Ripper's lair.
[161] "Nous allons célébrer mes noces avec elle d'une manière qui l'étonnera" (30).

Ripper's brutal treatment of women and romantic relationships in general, Petithuguenin prefigures scholars such as Jane Caputi, who argued in 1987 that the Ripper's crimes must be read as representative of the larger culture's patriarchal control of women. The murders, for Caputi, are physical manifestations of the discourses of power that structure gender relations and force women into subordinate social roles. When Ethel turns the Ripper's rhetoric of love against him, she inverts this power structure and claims for herself the authority and power that the Ripper denies her.

Conclusion

While each of the penny dreadfuls I discuss in this chapter approaches its subject matter in a different way, each appropriates the general facts of the Ripper case to rewrite the narrative as a fictional mystery that foregrounds the position of women. It cannot be overstated that the motivation behind all penny dreadful, dime novel, and *roman feuilleton* publication was to sell copies and earn a profit. The Ripper murders were an appealing source of narrative content simply because of the overwhelming public interest in the case. As Brewer, Lawson, and Petithuguenin were all no doubt aware, by appropriating the raw material provided by the Ripper and adapting it in new ways, they were virtually guaranteed to make a profit with their respective texts. The Curse Upon Mitre Square and Jack the Ripper in New York adapt preexisting narrative material without substantially altering the ideological content of the emerging cultural narrative of the crimes. In both texts, the

Ripper's victims are represented as unruly women who are justly punished. Gender roles are firmly reestablished, and the criminal remains at large – a threatening warning to women to remain firmly and safely within feminine domestic space. Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer, however, highlights the criminal actions of the Ripper in its very title, and challenges the gender roles that are deeply entrenched in the former two texts by representing Ethel as a capable, independent and active protagonist. This chapter thus illustrates two different modes of representation for the Ripper's crimes. The first confirms the victimization of the Ripper's victims, implying that their deaths were the inevitable outcome of their sordid lives. The second challenges the assumptions that lead to that conclusion. In the next, and final, chapter in this dissertation, I examine the first complete novelization of the Ripper case, which follows the pattern of this second representational strategy.

Chapter Four

A "woman's wit and cunning": The Lodger by Marie Belloc Lowndes

Introduction

In this, the final chapter of my dissertation, I examine the first complete novelization of the Ripper case, The Lodger (1913), by Marie Belloc Lowndes, in which a "woman's wit and cunning" (77) is able to solve the mystery when thousands of police officers, detectives and government officials are unable to. It is appropriate that this novel was written by a female author, as it signals a marked departure from earlier Ripper narratives in its depiction of the role of gender in the case. Lowndes highlights the lack of female agency in earlier Ripper narratives, and presents the argument that the absence of women from the case precludes the possibility of the mystery ever being solved. Lowndes uses her protagonist, a domestic servant woman, to overtly challenge the mode of representation that pervades dominant articulations of the Ripper case, circumscribing women's agency and power. Indeed, the novel is a sophisticated meditation on the ways in which issues of gendered representation interact with issues of power and violence. Ultimately, it provides a strongly voiced counterpoint to the narratives that precede it, making the provocative suggestion that the problem of male violence cannot be solved within the confines of male-dominated systems of knowledge.

I begin the chapter with an introduction to Lowndes, a prolific writer and well-known public figure in her day who is now all but forgotten. I examine how early influences in her life affected her political and social beliefs, and suggest that these beliefs are apparent in the way she chose to adapt the Ripper case in The Lodger. I then situate the novel in the small scholarly discourse that surrounds it, and finally offer my own interpretation of the novel, demonstrating Lowndes' challenge to official, masculine channels of knowledge (such as the police and the courts) and traditional modes of representation for women during the Ripper crisis. In The Lodger, a female character assumes the role of unofficial detective, exhibiting both agency and power as she investigates the Avenger's crimes. Lowndes further illustrates how characteristics associated with conventional Victorian femininity (domesticity and maternity, for example) can be turned into effective tools for the attainment of power and equality for women in the larger social realm, although she simultaneously shows that restricting women to those "feminine" spheres is dangerous not just for women, but for society in general. As we have seen, the Ripper murders terrified women throughout London and beyond, coming to represent a violent, misogynist threat against *all* women as a "mythic story of sexual danger" (Walkowitz City 2). Finally, in a novel published twenty-five years after the crimes, a female author and her female protagonist assume imaginative control over their tormentor. They are at last "able to enter discourses from which they have been initially excluded," and move "from objects of another's discourse to women as subjects of their own" (Poovey 29).

The Author and Her Novel

Marie Belloc Lowndes was born in 1868 in France to a prominent family; her mother was British suffragist and writer Bessie Rayner Parkes, and her father, Louis Belloc, was a French lawyer, an invalid who died just four years after Marie's birth.[162] Marie's only sibling, Hilaire, became a prolific writer himself, and was well known as a Catholic apologetic. The family split their time between England and France, which Marie continued to do throughout her life. Marie's family provided her with several unconventional proto-feminist role models, and her memoirs revolve around a close-knit group of strong women: her mother, her mother's closest friend and fellow suffragist Barbara Bodichon, her aunts and grandmothers, and her own friends. Marie's mother, Lowndes reports in a memoir, "cared ardently for literature and longed to take a place among the poets of her day" (Arcadia 2). She passed this love of literature and desire to contribute to it on to her children, along with her progressive political views. In one letter to Bodichon, Marie's mother wrote, "I found baby Marie diligently sucking one of your pamphlets on Woman Suffrage. I let her go on doing it, as I thought some of it might in that way percolate into her infant mind" (Arcadia 101).

In keeping with these influences, Marie herself lived an unconventional life. Although she was married in 1896 to journalist Frederic Sawney Lowndes and had three children, she was often the primary bread-winner for her family, and made her living as a successful and prolific professional journalist and writer. She was socially connected to most of the prominent literary and political figures of her day, and was particularly supportive of young, unestablished, and female writers. She wrote in a 1946 memoir, "I became acquainted with, and in certain cases I became the friend of, almost every novelist who was writing early in this century" (Merry Wives 147), and indeed, her social calendar included meetings with everyone from Prime Minister Asquith to Henry James to Oscar and Constance Wilde (both of whom she ardently supported throughout their legal battles).[163] She often befriended the wives of prominent literary and political men, and praised them highly in her memoirs for the unacknowledged contributions they made to their husbands' careers.

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[162] Marie touchingly documents her parents' early lives and unusual courtship in the fascinating I, Too, Have Lived in Arcadia, published in 1941. This text will be abbreviated hereafter as Arcadia.

In January, 1911, Lowndes published a short story in the American monthly McClure's Magazine entitled "The Lodger," based on the Jack the Ripper case.[164] In one of her memoirs, Lowndes explains the story's provenance:

> I had once sat at dinner next to a man who told me that a butler and lady's maid, who had been in his parents' service, had married, and set up a humble lodging-house. They were convinced Jack the Ripper had spent the night in their house before and after he had committed the most horrible of his murders. I told myself that this might form the core of a striking short story. (Merry Wives 171)

Although the idea of the Ripper-as-lodger became increasingly common in the decades following the murders and is not original to Lowndes, her short story is almost certainly the first published fictional expression of the motif.[165] Lowndes went on to develop the short story into a novel of the same name which was published serially in England in the Daily Telegraph,[166] and then as a single volume in 1913.

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[163] Merry Wives is the abbreviated form of The Merry Wives of Westminster.

[164] The hugely popular American magazine McClure's typified the "muckraking" sensibility of the early twentieth century. It published a mixture of political and news articles, art, history, biography, and new fiction. It was founded as an illustrated monthly magazine in 1893 by S. S. McClure and John Sanborn Phillips (Gross n. pag.).

The novel was immediately popular with the book-buying public. Lowndes reports, "in thirty-five years over a million copies of the novel were sold, and it has been translated into almost every language" (Merry Wives 172). The financial success of the novel led to Lowndes' ongoing habit of fictionalizing crime cases; as the primary financial supporter of her family, popular appeal was an important consideration in her selection of subject matter. In fact, despite her interest in myriad other subjects, Lowndes remains best-known as a crime novelist.[167] However much the novel earned, it was not a critical success – at least, not until long after Lowndes' death. She recalls, "The Lodger, on publication, was hailed by the critics with universal condemnation, and when I tried to find a few lines suitable for quotation, when the novel was about to be published in America by Scribner's, I failed" (Merry

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[165] As Donald Rumbelow has shown, Dr. Forbes Winslow was the first to articulate the Ripper-as-lodger theory (see Rumbelow 156-161).

[166] The serial publication of lengthy fictional texts was a common practice in the Victorian era, and continued into the twentieth century. Graham Law observes that the reasons for the practice were many. Early in the period, he writes, "the book market was dominated by the 'library edition', that is, the uniform publication of new novels in three volumes at the prohibitive retail price of half a guinea a volume in small print runs" (1). These volumes were generally too expensive for individuals to purchase on their own; most were sold to circulating libraries, which thus exerted significant control over the publishing market. This practice, however, "severely limited the potential readership and rewards of established writers" (1). Serializing works of long fiction in periodicals was one alternative means of publication that evolved in order to counter these problems. Lowndes' decision to publish The Lodger in both serial and volume form is thus in keeping with common publishing practices of the day. Further, Lowndes wrote to earn a living for her family; the dual publication provided income from two sources, which was surely an attractive proposition.

[167] Lowndes' novels based on other high-profile criminal cases include Lizzie Borden: A Study in Conjecture, The Chink in the Armour (based on the Gould murder at Monte Carlo), What Really Happened (based on the Florence Bravo case), and Letty Lynton (based on the Madeleine Smith case of 1857).

Wives 92). Decades later, the novel was lauded by writers such as Ernest Hemingway and Gertrude Stein as a fine example of crime fiction (Marcus xi), although it is still not usually considered a canonical entry in the genre.[168]

Both the short story and the full-length versions of The Lodger share fundamental plot points, characters, and narrative styles, although there are some instructive differences which I shall discuss in greater depth later in this chapter. Each version details the experience of Mr. and Mrs. Bunting, a retired butler and maid, who take in a mysterious lodger (improbably named "Mr. Sleuth") in order to avert the financial ruin that continually threatens their household. Over the course of the story, first Mrs. Bunting and eventually Mr. Bunting as well begin to suspect that their strange lodger is in fact "the Avenger," an insane criminal terrorizing the streets of London, killing women with apparent abandon. Neither Bunting nor his wife report their suspicions to the police, fearing the financial loss his arrest would entail, despite the fact that their young friend and sole visitor Joe Chandler is himself a policeman.[169] Gradually, a strange bond of sympathy develops between Mrs. Bunting and her lodger. The story ends, dramatically, in Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors, where Mr. Sleuth has unexpectedly invited Mrs. Bunting and her stepdaughter Daisy to celebrate the girl's eighteenth birthday. Seeing a policeman who is there only by coincidence, Sleuth assumes Mrs. Bunting has turned him in, and disappears after castigating her for her betrayal. As the plot concludes, Daisy becomes engaged to Joe, the Buntings give up their lodging house and return to domestic service, and Mr. Sleuth disappears – in the full-length version, seemingly into thin air, and in the short story, into Regent's Canal, where he drowns.

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[168] It has also been adapted for film several times; the first is The Lodger: A Story of the London Fog directed by Alfred Hitchcock in 1926. The very successful film starred matinee idol Ivor Novello, and was considered by the director himself to be "the first Hitchcock picture" (qtd. in Conrad 34). It includes such Hitchcockian devices as a transparent glass floor through which Mr. and Mrs. Bunting watch their lodger pacing. Hitchcock freely adapted his source material, turning Lowndes' feminist tale into a narrative of false accusation and police corruption. As Peter Conrad explains, Hitchcock's lodger "is wrongly suspected of the crimes . . . . [W]hen a crowd pursues the lodger and prepares to beat him to death, his innocence is fortuitously revealed. Watching, we too have been enlisted in a hasty, brutal lynch mob" (35). The audience is thus called to question their own prejudices and false conclusions.

[169] A "Joseph Chandler" was the first police officer on the scene at Annie Chapman's murder (Sheldon AC 29).

Both the short story and the novel employ limited omniscient third-person narration, mostly from Mrs. Bunting's point of view, with occasional diversions to Mr. Bunting's perspective. The effect is claustrophobic: the reader, like Mrs. Bunting, feels trapped in close quarters with a murderer and rarely leaves the domestic space of the lodging house. Essentially, we readers know what Mrs. Bunting knows and see what she sees. It is with her that the reader identifies, forming an uncomfortable bond much like the one she develops with Mr. Sleuth.

Of the three published versions of the story (the short story, the serial novel, and the single-volume novel), the biggest differences are between the short story and full-length versions of the texts. Indeed, the texts of the serial novel and single-volume novel are identical. Still, it is important to note that the reading experience of serials differs greatly from that of single-volume novels; as Linda Hughes and Michael Lund argue, "the extended time frame and periodic structure [serial publishing] imposed on narrative" (143) are vital to the ways these texts make their meanings. In fact, Hughes and Lund contend that serial publication is ideally suited to texts with feminist leanings. They write that serials "can be reconceptualized in relation to feminine issues, especially the material and cultural conditions of Victorian women readers, and feminist theoretical paradigms" (144). The serial format entails a form of prolonged intimacy as readers wait for each new installment, coupled with the commitment necessary to obtain all the parts of the narrative. Simultaneously, they are inexpensive and they require only small, regular time commitments. As Hughes and Lund point out, these characteristics mirror the rhythm of many Victorian women's lives (146). Serial novels could be read in short breaks between domestic tasks, and were readily affordable. In a felicitous parallel, the serial version of The Lodger would have made ideal reading material for Mrs. Bunting herself.

A Family Resemblance: Adapting the Ripper

As a fictionalized adaptation, The Lodger takes artistic liberties with the factual events of the Ripper murders, although it is also true to its source material in many ways. While the general facts of the Ripper and Avenger murders are the same – a serial killer attacks women unprovoked on the streets of Victorian London, causing public uproar – there are also important differences. First of all, the names ascribed to the respective murderers imply motive: the Ripper's name defines him as a mutilator, intent solely on "ripping" women's bodies apart. The Avenger's name, however, indicates that his mission is punishing perceived wrongs – a slightly more comprehensible, though clearly misguided, motivation. Even this motive, however, is drawn from the Ripper case; many people attributed an avenging motive to the

Ripper. The "Dear Boss" letter of 25 September, 1888 – whether or not it is authentically from the murderer – was widely publicized, and contained the statement, "I am down on whores and I shan't quit ripping them till I do get buckled" (Evans and Skinner, plate between p. 340 and 341). Lowndes changed the name of her killer, but attributed a motive to him that was popularly linked to the Ripper himself.

The reason for the killers' respective needs for vengeance is another point of departure. The Ripper, as we have seen, killed habitual and occasional prostitutes: women who participated in illicit and illegal sexual activity. The Avenger, however, targets women who appear intoxicated in public, and who frequent public houses. Indeed, this is the only description we ever get of his victims; when Mrs. Bunting is offered the opportunity to view the bodies at the inquest, she adamantly refuses (136). The main object of his rage is female alcoholism, and his motivation stems from the Biblical tracts prescribing modesty in women that he constantly quotes to Mrs. Bunting. There is no mention of any sexual motive or genital mutilation in any of the Avenger's crimes. The sexualized slaughter of the Ripper's victims is translated, in The Lodger, into a slightly less scandalous transgression, although echoes of the sexual nature of the Ripper's crimes inevitably appear in Lowndes' text. Like the unnamed but suspiciously sexual crimes of Oscar Wilde's Dorian Gray, drinking in The Lodger functions as a euphemism for sexual misbehavior. Again, the Avenger's divergence from the Ripper is not as great as it first appears.

As for the Avenger himself, his description is in keeping with several theories advanced about the Ripper, and offers a hint as to Lowndes' own political orientation. As we have seen in Chapter Two of this dissertation, upper- and middle-class mainstream publications typically characterize the Ripper as a working-class immigrant Jew. Papers with a strong working-class readership, however, such as the East End locals, tend to assume that the killer is a gentleman, a West-Ender, and possibly a doctor. Lowndes' text, similarly, insists that Mr. Sleuth is a gentleman. Mrs. Bunting's first impression of him sets this up:

> there stood the long, lanky figure of a man, clad in an Inverness cape and an old-fashioned top hat … Mrs. Bunting's trained perception told her at once that this man, odd as he looked, was a gentleman, belonging by birth to the class with whom her former employment had brought her in contact. (13)

These two characteristics – that he is odd, but that he is certainly a gentleman – appear in nearly every description of Mr. Sleuth in the novel, with only minor variations. Further, he is constantly described as an outsider: he is a gentleman, but he is an "odd" gentleman, apparently without friends or family connecting him to his class. He calls himself a "man of science" (16), but again appears to have no professional ties or tasks related to the discipline. He keeps strange hours that distance him from his house-mates, and won't even allow Bunting to valet for him. In every way, he exists as an outsider. Eventually we learn that although he is indeed a gentleman, Mr. Sleuth is a "criminal lunatic" (195), and that he suffers from "an acute form of religious mania" (194). Again, the suspicion that the Ripper was mad was common to almost all newspapers, but was deployed particularly by the East End papers as a means of refuting the mainstream press's nearly unanimous chorus that the killer must be a poor East Ender. If he is, came the reply, he is insane and not responsible for his actions. Lowndes' use of a description of the killer that appealed to progressive, working-class and East End newspapers suggests that her sympathies lie with them.

As we have seen, it is difficult to overstate the importance of the London newspapers in the evolution of the Ripper case. Lowndes appears to have been aware of this, and makes newspapers similarly central in her novel. Papers are a conduit through which Mr. Bunting, oblivious to his lodger's connection to the case, obtains news of the case. (In fact they are the only conduit, apart from his relationship with Joe Chandler.) Although fictional, this first-hand account of the thrills of the special editions and hysterical newspaper boys that accompanied this case offers significant insight into the importance of the press in the Ripper case. And Lowndes does not simply highlight the importance of the press; she actually borrows content from the Ripper reportage. Some headlines that the Buntings discuss include "BLOODHOUNDS TO BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED" (81), and "PARDON TO ACCOMPLICES" (82) – both of which were elements of the Ripper case.[170]

Lowndes makes a significant change with regard to the settings of the murders. While all of the Ripper's murders took place in (or very close to)

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[170] As virtually all London newspapers reported, bloodhounds were considered by Ripper investigators on several occasions in early October, and tests occurred on October 9 and 10, although they were never actually used. Papers similarly reported on the Home Office's November 10 announcement of a pardon for any accomplice coming forward to turn in the Ripper.

Whitechapel, in London's East End, the Avenger's murders gradually move into the West End, which is also where the Buntings live.[171] Laura Marcus argues that Lowndes "shifts the murders from the East End to West London in part because she cannot represent Whitechapel, the 'unrepresentable' in late nineteenth-century society: doing so would have meant too raw a confrontation with poverty, sexual activity, and sexual crime" (xi). However, Lowndes' text is far less graphic than many of the newspaper accounts read by the London public in 1888 – and it was written 25 years later, in the early twentieth century. In truth, the reading public was constantly presented with representations of poverty, crime, and even sexuality: Henry Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor (1861), Jack London's The People of the Abyss (1903), and William Acton's Prostitution, Considered in its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspect, in London and Other Large Cities (1870), are just three examples that were published well before The Lodger. It seems much more likely that Lowndes allowed the Avenger's crimes to straddle the East and West ends of London, and changed the victim's crimes from prostitution to drinking alcohol – a habit than many respectable women, after all, shared – in order to emphasize the connection between all women in the city of London. Geography is not enough to protect women from the Avenger, nor is leading a relatively respectable life, if that life included the occasional glass of wine or snifter of medicinal brandy. The threat represented by the Avenger, in other words, is not determined by class or geography, and thus should be of concern to *all* women – much more so than the Ripper's crimes, since far fewer women participate in prostitution than drink. In this way, Lowndes insists on the inherent connection and sisterhood of London women, and advocates for mutual concern and understanding between different classes of women.

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[171] This is another reference to the Ripper newspaper reportage; the gradual infection of the West End by the crimes of the East End was a common fear expressed in upper and middle class publications during the crime spree, as I have demonstrated in previous chapters.

The Lodger in Scholarly Discourse: A Question of Feminism

Surprisingly scant academic attention has been paid to Lowndes' work, despite her fame and success in her own time. By the time of her death in 1947, Lowndes' bibliography included some 44 novels, seven short stories, seven plays, four volumes of memoirs, and several biographies, along with a vast body of journalistic output. In 1971, a writer for the Times Literary Supplement opined,

> Mrs. Belloc Lowndes was one of that monstrous regiment of writing women who flourished in Edwardian England and gave to that period something of its unique literary quality. Most of them are forgotten now . . . Of their huge number of novels, only one survives: The Lodger remains as a minor classic of suspense, the single monument to all that labour. ("View from the tea-table" 1180)

The Lodger is indeed the novel for which Lowndes is remembered, and it is universally considered her finest work. But although several volumes of literary biography and genre bibliography include entries on Lowndes and her work, there are no fully developed scholarly articles or books on the novel or novelist.

While the file of academic writings on Lowndes is thus slight, there emerges from what exists a portrait of a professional woman writer with an ambivalent attitude towards the larger body of her own sex. Virginia Macdonald, in her brief entry on Lowndes in the compendium Twentieth-Century Crime and Mystery Writers, offers the observation that Lowndes' texts "share a sensitive understanding of women's problems" (969). However, she goes on to argue that Lowndes' female characters tend to be portrayed negatively, often undergoing a transformation from sympathetic heroines to criminals "who abuse the love and affection of trusting males" (969). She concludes, "The horror of her books comes from this stripping away the façade of seemingly respectable women to show how greed or passion could lead them to murder" (969). As for The Lodger specifically, Macdonald suggests that Mrs. Bunting acts out of "self-interest and self-protection, loyalty to upper-class 'gentlefolk,' and 'decent' values shared by murderers and landlords" (970).

Barrie Hayne, in a similar compendium entitled Great Women Mystery Writers: Classic to Contemporary, offers a parallel analysis of Lowndes' work, arguing that "Lowndes's female protagonists are frequently the instigators of the peril" (198). He goes on, "in at least ten of her novels, the pattern is repeated of a young woman, usually of an inferior class, who is married to an older man but loves another (or, more usually, has designs on another man's money), who murders her husband" (198). He describes Lowndes "ultimate theme" as "the very Victorian one of outward respectability and hidden vice. One can be transformed by some psychic quirk from a respectable wife to a murderess, and who can tell the difference?"

(199).[172] Again, the image of women in Lowndes' fiction is assumed to be unremittingly negative.

The 1996 introduction to the Oxford University Press edition of The Lodger, by Laura Marcus, is the most recent, most thorough and most sophisticated piece of criticism on the novel. Marcus argues that the fundamental theme of the novel is the "drama of class" (xii). She writes, "The themes of service and servitude are central to the novel. It seems to hint that the servant classes who turn their backs on the protection afforded by domestic employment open themselves up to the dangers of poverty and, more dramatically, to the visitation of evil" (xii). Thus, the Buntings' return to domestic service at the end of the novel is a recognition of their failure to transcend their class, and a return to the safety of rigid class hierarchies. The novel, in Marcus's estimation, is essentially conservative in nature, a warning to readers of the pitfalls of disregarding class stratification.

Inarguably, the question of class is prominent in the novel. The subtle interplay between the servant-class Buntings and their gentleman lodger provides much of the dramatic tension of the plot. But I would argue that gender issues are just as vital – if not more so – to the significance of the novel, particularly because of the gender issues inherent in the novel's source material: the Ripper murders. Marcus herself addresses the issues of gender brought up by Macdonald and Hayne. However, she takes a different approach from the other critics of the novel, and observes some ways in which the text might be considered progressive, or even feminist, despite its portrayal of collusion between Mrs. Bunting and the Avenger. She writes:

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[172] This theme is indeed characteristically Victorian, and was perhaps most famously explored in Stevenson's The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1886) which was itself used as a motif by several newspapers to explain the Ripper's crimes.

> the emphasis in the novel on women's 'natural' desire to build and protect their 'nests' does not suggest a radical feminism. Yet Belloc Lowndes does seem to suggest that women's exclusion from civic life may weaken their concepts of 'good citizenship' and even make them sympathetic to other outsiders, criminals included. She also departs from conventional narratives of femininity in her focus on, and interest in, the psychology and experience of the respectable, almost Puritanical, woman late middle-age and not her young and pretty stepdaughter. (xx)

She goes on to argue, "The novel also turns Mrs. Bunting into rather more of a detective figure than Joe, the police detective" (xxi). Lowndes' feminism, in Marcus's estimation, is manifested in her treatment of Mrs. Bunting as an agent (perhaps *the* agent) in the novel, rather than as an object or victim. For perhaps the first time in a Ripper narrative, we are presented with a woman's perspective, and follow a woman's actions; this reminds us that women have a greater presence in the case than merely passive victims, as they are depicted in previous Ripper narratives.

It is, as Marcus notes, unusual for a female character to be cast in the role of detective, even unofficially. Although Joe Chandler is employed by the Metropolitan Police as a detective, he is shown to be entirely ineffective, particularly when compared to Mrs. Bunting's highly successful sleuthing activities.[173] Lowndes, as we shall see, roots Mrs. Bunting's detective skills in her body: at various stages throughout her investigation, she experiences physical reactions – exclamations of embodied female knowledge – that point her towards vital evidence. Further, Lowndes continually highlights the gendered nature of Mrs. Bunting's body, and uses the resultantly "feminine traits" Mrs. Bunting exhibits to aid in her investigation. As Carla T. Kungl argues, this is a common tactic for female writers of detective fiction:

> Women writers use traits which extended from what society thought of as women's naturally detail-oriented lives – knowledge of the domestic sphere and of 'natural' female intuition – as key crime-solving tools. Instead of seeing traditionally female traits as handicaps, women writers provide their female detectives with these tools emanating from their status [as women]. (56)

Although she does not refer specifically to Lowndes, Kungl contends that women like Lowndes, who imagined different roles for female characters, actually "helped create new images women" (57), thereby expanding their life experiences and challenging strict social codes of gendered behaviour. Certainly, Lowndes' imaginative appropriation of the Ripper case inserts females into roles to which they previously had no access, offering an extraordinary narrative reframing in which women have access to both knowledge and agency, and are no longer powerless in the face of the threat represented by the Avenger/Ripper.

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[173] As an interesting aside, Mrs. Bunting's project throughout The Lodger is similar to my own project in this dissertation: searching for traces of the bodies of the victims, and interpreting those traces.

Ultimately, Marcus concludes that Lowndes

> does not appear to hold her characters to blame for their silence, bred as it is by their poverty, their desire for respectability, their fear of ostracism, their respect for 'gentlemen' and, overwhelmingly in Mrs. Bunting's case, by her pity for her lodger, to whom she imputes a loneliness and an outsider status that is also her own. (xxi)

The nature of the sympathetic bond between Mrs. Bunting and the Avenger is a shared sense of being an outsider, which in Mrs. Bunting's case is rooted in her gender. As a woman, she is excluded from many of the institutions and power structures that comprise late-Victorian life. Marcus concludes, "Belloc Lowndes was certainly playing a difficult game in constructing her Jack the Ripper persona as a figure of pity and even sympathy" (xxi).

My own reading of The Lodger agrees with Marcus's at many points; unlike previous critics, I agree that there is an element of feminism in the novel that has yet to be fully explored. Given the progressive and feminist nature of Lowndes' personal politics, it seems unlikely that she would pen an anti-feminist novel. We diverge, however, in our understandings of where that feminism lies. As I will show, Lowndes uses several techniques to challenge pre-existing Ripper narratives that ignore women's agency and type-cast them as victims, exclude women from official channels of power and knowledge, and ultimately deny women a voice even in matters of their own physical safety. This is not a "difficult game," as Marcus suggests, but rather a carefully considered tactic in an ongoing battle for gender equity. In fact, Mrs. Bunting herself intensifies Marcus's game imagery, constantly preparing herself for a figurative war with the "battalion against whom her only weapon would be her woman's wit and cunning" (77).

Interpreting a "woman's wit and cunning": Reading The Lodger

My analysis of The Lodger focuses on the character of Mrs. Bunting, and the ways that Lowndes uses her experiences to reframe the Ripper narrative as a domestic tale with a female protagonist – a female who is represented not as a victim, but as an active agent in the case. Lowndes highlights the lack of representation of victims' voices, and foregrounds Mrs. Bunting's body as a site of information and truth in the case. By contrasting a female-based system of information gathering and knowledge with the official, male channels of justice (the police and courts), Lowndes has written a profoundly feminist text, one that challenges the representations of women in previous Ripper narratives, and puts forth a passionate argument for female social equality. This narrative reframing, coupled with the simultaneous creation of a series of apparently contrarian parallels between the female protagonist and the killer, allows Lowndes to use the outsider status of the killer to argue for increased inclusion of women as active and equal participants in British society. I begin this section with an extensive look at the novel's first several chapters, in which Mrs. Bunting first meets her lodger, in order to illustrate Lowndes' methods of interpretation and adaptation of the Ripper case. I trace the roots and growth of Mrs. Bunting's strange connection with her lodger, and examine the nature of that connection. I argue that this bond results in Mrs. Bunting's haunting by the women her lodger has killed. I then move on to detail Lowndes' representation of the official channels of knowledge which she codes as male – the courts, the police, and the newspapers – and the challenge presented to them by Mrs. Bunting's personal and often embodied knowledge. Finally, I ponder the question: after solving the case of the Avenger, why doesn't Mrs. Bunting turn her lodger in?

Lowndes opens her novel with an intimation, on the first page, that more will be required of her readers than a straightforward interpretation of her novel. "[P]eculiarly true of average English life," she warns, "is the time-worn English proverb as to appearances being deceitful" (3). She goes on, however, to describe her main character, Mrs. Bunting, and her family and home in painstaking detail, leaving the reader to wonder where the deceit lies, and who is responsible for it. Mrs. Bunting sits in an uncomfortable chair (leaving the armchair for her husband), "in her neat black stuff dress, and in her scrupulously clean, plain collar and cuffs" (3). She is described as "a silent woman" (6), which is one of the qualities her husband appreciates about her. Bunting himself is "clean-shaven and dapper," and their home, while not extravagant, is "exceptionally clean and well-cared for" (3). In every way, Mrs. Bunting is a model wife: an excellent housekeeper who defers to her husband, limits her spending, and keeps herself and her home tidy and attractive.

Almost immediately, however, this image of domestic harmony is interrupted with news of the couple's poverty. "Already they had learnt to go hungry," Lowndes writes, "and they were beginning to learn to go cold" (4). The Buntings have even resorted to selling off their furniture, piece by piece – and this poverty, indeed, is one of the deceptions of their outward appearance. But there is another, implicit deception in the outwardly "pleasant, cosy picture of comfortable married life" (3) that the couple present. Mrs. Bunting, we discover, is a desperately unhappy and disillusioned woman. Lowndes writes, "Never, never had she felt so hopeless, so – so broken as now. Where was the good of having been an upright, conscientious, self-respecting woman all her life long, if it only led to this utter, degrading poverty and wretchedness?" (11). Mrs. Bunting has conformed strictly throughout her life to conventional standards of femininity, as a maid, wife, and housekeeper, and her current poverty has caused her to question the social fiction that conformity to social expectations – particularly gendered expectations – results in success and happiness. Sexual chastity and marital fidelity, obedience and subservience to men, respectability, and all the other elements that make for an "upright" Victorian woman have landed Mrs. Bunting in a miserable situation; her careful adherence to conventional femininity has, in fact, "broken" her. Even her characteristic silence, which is "one reason why Bunting had felt drawn to her from the very first moment he had seen her" (6), has become a "stillness," and "dumbness" which "got on the unfortunate man's nerves" (6). It is thus very early in the novel that Lowndes begins to highlight the question of the representation of women and femininity; a problem exists for Mrs. Bunting even before the first appearance of the shadowy lodger. Her ambivalence about her female social role casts femininity itself as a suspect category.

Into this atmosphere of silent disillusionment comes Mr. Sleuth, breaking Mrs. Bunting's chain of thoughts with his "loud, tremulous, uncertain double knock" (12). The contradiction of a knock sounding both loud and tremulous emphasizes the sense of the outside world intruding on Mrs. Bunting's quiet domestic space, as well as the feminization of Mr. Sleuth, a man apparently far more timid than Mrs. Bunting herself; she answers the knock, although "It was Bunting's place to go to the front door" (12). The volume of the knock, then, may associate Mr. Sleuth with the hustle and bustle of the outside world, but its tremulousness and uncertainty simultaneously position it within Mrs. Bunting's silent, female space of domesticity. This is our first hint of the complicated relationship that will develop between the two characters.

Mrs. Bunting and Mr. Sleuth's relationship, from the start, exhibits a strange symbiosis, a shared sympathy that seems at odds with their social positions and life situations. It is, indeed, the strongest and most vibrant relationship in the novel. While Mrs. Bunting relies upon her lodger for the financial support she needs to live, her lodger relies upon her discretion for other, more sinister reasons. Unusually, their relationship is exclusive. Mr. Bunting, the putative head of the household, doesn't even move from his chair, and only meets the lodger later that evening; after their first meeting, he rarely interacts with Mr. Sleuth at all. Mrs. Bunting handles all of the decisions and financial transactions relating to the lodger, and arranges to do all of the waiting, cooking and housekeeping. Despite his strangeness and her resultant nervousness, she speaks to him "gently" (13) and "softly" (15), and quickly finds that "[s]he was beginning to feel very kindly towards her new lodger" (19). She decides to interpret his unusual speech and habits as those of an eccentric gentleman, and extends to him the indulgence she feels he therefore deserves. As for Mr. Sleuth, he appears to appreciate Mrs. Bunting from the start: "'*[Y]ou* have taken me in, Mrs. Bunting, and I'm grateful for – for the kind way you have met me –' He looked at her feelingly, appealing" (19, Lowndes' italics). The italicized emphasis on Mrs. Bunting's distinct role in providing shelter further highlights the developing personal relationship between the two characters, which quickly takes on an almost maternal character. As any mother would, Mrs. Bunting provides food, shelter and protection for her wayward "son," and defends him against any criticism from outsiders. She carefully observes his health, watches his comings and goings, and offers advice as she feels appropriate, going far beyond the usual duties of landlady.

It is not simply a bond of sympathy that links the two characters, however. Lowndes provides several parallels between them that suggest a deeper congruence and hint at a darker subtext. Both, for example, are effectively vegetarians – the only two in the novel. For Mr. Sleuth's first meal as her lodger, Mrs. Bunting offers him the only meat she has in the house, a sausage. "A sausage? No, I fear that will hardly do. I never touch flesh meat" (20), he replies. The irony of this statement becomes clearer as the novel progresses and Sleuth's identity as the Avenger is confirmed, but the link with Mrs. Bunting is clear: she herself would not eat the sausage either. Lowndes writes, "she had bought it that same morning for Bunting's supper; as to herself, she had been going to content herself with a little bread and cheese" (19).

Their motivations are different, his based in an extreme sense of morality, hers borne out of poverty, but both characters abstain from meat.

Physically, too, the two characters are linked. The spaces they inhabit are explicitly described as corresponding. When Mr. Sleuth arrives, Mrs. Bunting takes him upstairs to show him the rooms she has for rent. "[S]he showed Mr. Sleuth the nice bedroom which opened out of the drawing-room. It was a replica of Mrs. Bunting's own room just underneath, excepting that everything up here had cost just a little more" (20). The room below belongs to Bunting equally, since the couple share a bedroom, but Lowndes' designation of the room as belonging to Mrs. Bunting highlights again the correspondence between her and the lodger. Further, this situation provides Mrs. Bunting with much satisfaction. Later, lying in bed, she thinks to herself, "How comfortable it was to know that upstairs, just over her head, lay, in the well-found bed she had bought with such satisfaction at an auction held in a Baker Street house, a lodger who was paying two guineas a week!" (27). This example also highlights Mrs. Bunting's agency within the domestic sphere: she is a highly effective housekeeper and ably manages the household finances.

Lowndes quickly moves on to implicitly comment on the representation of the female victims of the lodger – and by extension, the Ripper as well. Mrs. Bunting decorates her lodging rooms with art: "a series of eight engravings, portraits of early Victorian belles, clad in lace and tarletan ball dresses, clipped from an old Book of

Beauty" (15).[174] Significantly, these portraits depict the height of Victorian femininity; they represent the socially-inscribed aspirations of perfect womanhood. Her lodger, however, dislikes these pictures of which Mrs. Bunting is quite proud, and immediately upon taking the rooms turns them to face the wall – much to her surprise. He explains, "I felt as I sat here that these women's eyes followed me about. It was a most unpleasant sensation, and gave me quite an eerie feeling" (24). The portraits suggest a tantalizing extra-textual reference to the Ripper murders themselves, the exact number of which was never definitively ascertained.[175] If these eight portraits represent eight murdered women, within the text by the Avenger and without it by the Ripper (and, indeed, even if they do not), the reader is left with an impression of a room haunted by absent women. Mrs. Bunting removes the offending pictures from the lodger's rooms: "Each left an unsightly mark on the wall – but that, after all, could not be helped" (27). The representations of these Victorian women are conspicuous in their absence, leaving ugly marks on the white, clean walls. Nor does Mrs. Bunting simply move the pictures, as she tells Mr. Sleuth she will, saying, "we have plenty of space in our own rooms for them" (25). Instead, later that night, "[t]reading softly, so that Bunting should not hear her, she carried them down, two by two, and stood them behind her bed" (27). This is the first instance of subtle deception in her protection of Mr. Sleuth, suggesting that her protective and maternal feelings for her lodger outweigh even the importance of honesty in her marriage. It is also another parallel between the two characters, both of whom find these pictures objectionable, although for different reasons. Mr. Sleuth's hatred of women of lose morals (specifically women who drink, but by implication also sexualized women of any sort) make the pictures understandably distressing to him. Mrs. Bunting's hiding of the pictures is a symptom of her growing suspicion of and complicity with Mr. Sleuth. The women, hidden behind her bed, now haunt her room just as they did the room above her – and Mrs. Bunting becomes complicit in their disappearance.

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[174] A reference to engraver Charles Heath's popular periodical Heath's Book of Beauty, (1833-1847, continued as Book of Beauty to 1848). The centerpiece of each issue is a series of engravings of well-dressed and beautiful women.

[175] It is very possible to number the Ripper's victims as eight. In addition to the five agreed-upon, central murders of the case, frequent additions include: Emma Smith (3 April 1888), Martha Tabram (7 August 1888), Rose Mylett (20 December 1888), Alice McKenzie (17 July 1889), and Frances Coles (13 February 1891). Any of these could be added to the central five to make for eight victims.

As a final parallel, Mrs. Bunting and Mr. Sleuth appear to share several opinions on social issues. Both are ardent abstainers from alcohol. I have already discussed alcohol as the motivation for the Avenger's murders. Mrs. Bunting, surprisingly, shares his dislike of drinkers – although her disapproval is much milder than is the Avenger's. Preparing his first meal, Mrs. Bunting

> hesitated a moment, then asked stiffly, "And will you be requiring any beer, or wine, sir?"
>
> A strange, wild look of lowering wrath suddenly filled Mr. Sleuth's pale face.
>
> "Certainly not. I thought I had made that quite clear, Mrs. Bunting. I had hoped to hear that you were an abstainer –"
>
> "So I am, sir, lifelong. And so's Bunting been since we married." (20)

Mrs. Bunting dislikes drinking by either sex – both she and Bunting are abstainers. Her lodger, however, focuses solely on women, which further insinuates that there is a sexual component to Mr. Sleuth's obsession.

Slightly later in the novel, when Mr. Sleuth has been living with the Buntings for a few days, Lowndes writes:

> It hadn't taken the landlady very long to find out that her lodger had a queer kind of fear and dislike of women. When she was [cleaning] the staircase and landings she would often hear Mr. Sleuth reading aloud to himself passages in the Bible that were very uncomplimentary to her sex. But Mrs. Bunting had no very great opinion of her sister woman, so that didn't put her out. Besides, where one's lodger is concerned, a dislike of women is better than – well, than the other thing. (33-34)

That "other thing," of course, is the over-indulgence in sex, likely with prostitutes or other fallen women. Mrs. Bunting, it seems, shares attitudes with the Ripper and the Avenger – although to a much milder degree. It is statements like this that have marked Lowndes as an anti-feminist writer for critics like Hayne and Macdonald – and certainly, this overt agreement with Mr. Sleuth's misogyny is distasteful to a contemporary audience. These attitudes, however, cannot be attributed to the author. Mrs. Bunting's statements point towards her troubled relationship with her own sex; Lowndes' depiction of a disillusioned housewife in fact draws attention to the social struggles women in the late-Victorian period faced. Mrs. Bunting is no "sister" to her fellow women because, as Lowndes shows, both her poverty and the failure she feels that it implies alienate her from the feminine role that has offered her so little reward. Sisterhood, in her experience, has done little to advance her lot in life.

This alienation is perhaps sparked by the fact that Mrs. Bunting lacks a maternal influence in her own life, and so her socialization into the feminine gender took place under unusual circumstances. Lowndes explains, "she herself had been trained at the Foundling, for Mrs. Bunting as a little child had known no other home, no other family, than those provided by good Captain Coram" (31).[176] Instead of being reared or raised, Mrs. Bunting was "trained" – and trained by a father-figure in a patriarchal institution. Meanwhile her step-daughter Daisy, a flighty, pretty and feminine girl who appears to embrace her prescribed gender role to the hilt (for which she is often chided by Mrs. Bunting), is described as having "a woman's natural instinct for building her own human nest" (87). Mrs. Bunting, conversely, is described as "a woman who thought for herself – a clever woman, not an everyday woman by any manner of means" (126). Her misplaced maternal feelings for her lodger illustrate again the unusual relationship she has with her gender role. Having no children of her own, a stepdaughter she dislikes, and no mother to emulate, her maternal "instinct" is skewed.

Mrs. Bunting's connection with her lodger deepens as the novel continues, and moves from uneasy complicity as she gradually discovers the true nature of his crimes, to a complex, tacit arrangement in which he acts almost as Mrs. Bunting's shadow proxy, the two characters essentially functioning as different aspects of the same entity. Mrs. Bunting's early kindly feelings towards the man who saved her from financial ruin quickly become protective. She begins to notice that he goes out walking very late at night – always right before another murder is discovered. She starts to feel "queerly afraid" (96) of Joe Chandler, the policeman. After the first murder occurs, Mrs. Bunting – who is already quite certain of Mr. Sleuth's responsibility for the crime, despite the fact that she tries to convince herself of the contrary – informs her lodger of the resultant uproar outside:

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[176] Captain Thomas Coram founded a series of Foundling Hospitals, the first in 1741, to care for the children of the poverty-stricken "wretched mothers" of London's underclasses (Brownlow 184). These Hospitals were essentially orphanages which also provided training in various trades to prevent their wards from returning to the streets.

> "If I was you, I shouldn't go out this afternoon; I'd just stay quietly indoors. There's a lot of rough people about –" Perhaps there was an undercurrent of warning, of painful pleading, in her toneless voice which penetrated in some way to the brain of the lodger, for Mr. Sleuth looked up, and an uneasy, watchful look came into his luminous grey eyes.
>
> "I'm sorry to hear that, Mrs. Bunting. But I think I'll take your advice." (56-57)

Talking to Mr. Sleuth, it seems, is Mrs. Bunting's remedy for fearing him and worrying about his criminal activity. Lowndes writes, "It seemed to banish the terror which filled her soul – aye, and her body, too – at other times. When she was with him Mr. Sleuth was so gentle, so reasonable, so – so grateful" (57). Lowndes highlights Mrs. Bunting's physical reaction to Mr. Sleuth; protecting him eases her anxiety, and soothes her body and mind. Although her body knows his guilt, she protects him to the best of her ability right until the end of the novel. Indeed, the discovery of clues implicating him in the crimes makes her faint and physically ill (53). And her protectiveness even extends to her unconscious mind; she awakes one night from a dream crying, "No, no, no … it isn't true – I won't have it said – it's a lie!" (161). Mrs. Bunting's protectiveness is so ingrained that it dominates her mind even as she sleeps. This last example is characteristic of Mrs. Bunting's reaction to her lodger in that her bodily response is highlighted, and her physical and mental health is affected. Terror fills her body, and leaves her fighting feverish-sounding nightmares. A struggle is clearly taking place within Mrs. Bunting's body itself; just as the Avenger has metaphorically infected the city of London, his relationship with his landlady is a form of bodily infection, too. The maternal metaphor that has dominated descriptions of their relationship until now has become a metaphor of infection.

Mrs. Bunting's knowledge of Mr. Sleuth's crimes and her protective complicity quickly lead to a sort of character-doubling, in which Mrs. Bunting assumes characteristics and actions that should properly be attributed to Mr. Sleuth. Startlingly, she reacts to news of each new murder with pleasure – although always for different reasons than the killer. The first time Joe rushes in to give them news of the latest murder,

> her relief for the moment was so great – for she really had thought for a second that he had come to give her ill news of Bunting – that the feeling that she did experience on hearing this piece of news was actually pleasurable,

> though she would have been much shocked had that fact been brought to her notice. (37)

When she hears of the next murder, Lowndes writes, "the strangest smile came over Mrs. Bunting's face" (92) because she secretly believes it corroborates her self-delusional hope that Mr. Sleuth is innocent – although she knows he is not. Her pleasure in the crimes is a distant echo of the Avenger's own.

Her actions similarly begin to mirror the Avenger's own. The first night he leaves the house sets up a pattern that each similar outing and murder will follow:

> Mrs. Bunting was awakened from a deep, dreamless sleep by sounds at once unexpected and familiar. She knew at once what those sounds were. They were those made by Mr. Sleuth, first coming down the stairs, and walking on tiptoe – she was sure it was on tiptoe – past her door, and finally softly shutting the front door behind him. (35)

She is so attuned to Mr. Sleuth's movements that she can discern details about his movement from a distance, and she does not sleep again until she hears him return, three hours later. The next morning, she feels "very tired" (35), almost as though she had been through the nocturnal excursion along with Mr. Sleuth. Indeed, the next time the pattern repeats, she herself observes, "she felt tired – strangely tired, as if she had gone through some great physical exertion" (104). And after the following incident, she has to drag herself out of bed the next morning, "feeling exactly as if she had just recovered from an illness which had left her very weak, very, very tired in body and soul" (113). The pattern repeats again and again: when the lodger goes out to commit a murder, Mrs. Bunting hears him leave, stays awake until his return, and is exhausted the next day. The metaphor of illness appears here again, and the infection that the Avenger represents grows in strength as his crimes continue.

Even Bunting notices a change in Mrs. Bunting, particularly as time goes on and her involvement with the lodger deepens. Mentally, she is different than he has ever seen her. Lowndes writes, "There was something queer about her, and he couldn't make it out … [S]he was so up and down; so different from what she used to be! In old days she had always been the same, but now a man never knew where to have her" (125). She looks different, too: "Her shoulders seemed to have shrunk; even her cheeks had fallen in a little. She had never looked so bad – not even when they had been half starving, and dreadfully, dreadfully worried" (128). Clearly, she is not prospering in her involvement with the lodger; even her body is changing and suffering. The difference between the spouses, who used to be harmonious in their attitudes and decisions, is best demonstrated in their divergent responses to the discovery of their lodger's criminality. While Mrs. Bunting obsessively cares for and protects him, once Bunting finally entertains suspicions of his own, he responds with indecision, feeling horror at the crimes, and reluctance to publicly involve his household in what would surely be a very public scandal. Finally, he decides that the best he can do is to "hope, that is, in the depths of his heart, that the lodger would again go out one evening on his horrible business and be caught – red-handed" (182-3). He feels none of his wife's kindly protectiveness, and does not succumb to infection and illness the way Mrs. Bunting does, highlighting again the gendered nature of her infection.

The connection between Mrs. Bunting and her lodger, however, is not entirely instigated by her. There is evidence of a reciprocal relationship. About halfway through the novel, Mr. Sleuth purposefully enters his landlady's kitchen – a space that belongs to her as the woman of the house, and should never be entered by any of her lodgers. Nor does Mrs. Bunting take kindly to this intrusion: "Mrs. Bunting held her ground in front of the stove. Mr. Sleuth had no business to come like this into her kitchen, and she intended to let him know that such was her view" (106). The lodger persists, however; he desires the use of her stove much later that night, which she grants him. After she herself uses the stove to make supper, and burns the bread "quite black" (105), Mr. Sleuth takes over her kitchen and burns something himself, something that creates a "strange, horrible odour" (109) that "seemed to encompass her" (109), an all-pervasive smell like burning wool. In fact, lying in bed in the middle of the night, listening to the lodger's movements in the kitchen, Mrs. Bunting "felt herself to be all smell" (109). The lodger's incursion into her space, and his mirror activity to her own ruined cooking have brought her infection to a peak, and she feels she has now been completely taken over.

Appropriately, once the association between Mrs. Bunting and the lodger's characters is complete, Mrs. Bunting begins to feel haunted, apparently by the Avenger's victims who are conspicuously absent from most of the text, existing only as fantasy ghosts and absent pictures. After her encounter with Mr. Sleuth in the kitchen, both Mrs. Bunting and the room itself seem changed. She is "unnerved, afraid of she knew not what" (108), and she is not an imaginative woman. As for the kitchen – *her* kitchen – "The place seemed to her alive with alien presences" (108). She feels "a strange uncanny dread. She felt as if she were locked in with an invisible presence, which mocked and jeered, reproached and threatened her, by turns" (115). Mr. Sleuth has brought with him the psychic weight of his crimes, and Mrs. Bunting, in her complicity, now shares his guilt. Significantly, the next time she encounters Mr. Sleuth, she feels he is "waiting for her" (116), and he reads out one of his strange, Biblical tracts: "She saith to him stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant. But he knoweth not that the dead are there, and that her guests are in the depths of hell" (116).[177] This passage again implies the idea that Mrs. Bunting is being haunted by the dead – and that her lodger is a hell-bound criminal.

Lowndes, then, carefully constructs an intricate relationship between Mrs. Bunting and Mr. Sleuth, one based on silent glances, clandestine observation, carefully judged pieces of advice, and strong physical reactions. She uses the metaphor first of maternity, and then of illness to describe this relationship, suggesting that Mrs. Bunting's own body is the site of a struggle between her impulse to protect her lodger and her fear and loathing of his crimes. The connection between the two characters highlights Mrs. Bunting's status as an outsider in her own native society: by virtue of her gender, she is locked out of official avenues of power and knowledge, as we shall see. Comparing her outsider status to that of a serial killer seems extreme, but it does convey the importance Lowndes places on the restrictions imposed upon Mrs. Bunting – and upon all women – by the gender dynamics of the society in which she lives.

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[177] This is indeed a Biblical quotation from the Proverb "Wisdom and the Foolish Woman" (Proverbs 9, 17-18). The lengthy Proverb concludes,

> A foolish woman is clamorous: she is simple, and knoweth nothing. For she sitteth at the door of her house, on a seat in the high places of the city, to call passengers who go right on their ways: Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither: and as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him, Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant. But he knoweth not that the dead are there; and that her guests are in the depths of hell. (Proverbs 9, 13-18)

The quotation reiterates the binary opposition that separates women from wisdom (which Lowndes seeks to subvert throughout her novel), and echoes Mr. Sleuth's belief that women are the tempters of men.

Lowndes showcases several channels of official knowledge and power, which she sets up in opposition to Mrs. Bunting's own information-gathering techniques, and the power they grant her. Invariably, she suggests that the official channels of knowledge are misguided and failing, thereby implying that a merger between the two sides of this gendered dyad is necessary for the optimal effectiveness of social institutions, and for a the creation of a social structure in which women are on equal footing with men. The particular social institutions Lowndes focuses on are the police, the newspapers, and the courts.

The police, as a larger entity, are represented within the novel by Joe Chandler, the young detective friend of Bunting's, whose grandfather Bunting had worked for in his youth. Joe is a likeable character – generous to the Buntings, solicitous to his beloved Daisy, and always willing to share information and exciting stories about the case he is working, which just happens to be the Avenger case. These chats are almost always between him and Bunting; Mrs. Bunting does not participate, and listens "with a certain languid interest" (29) at first, and with silent terror as her suspicions grow. Luckily for Mrs. Bunting and her lodger, however, Joe is not particularly bright, nor does he describe the police force in overly optimistic terms. The first bit of news he imparts to the Buntings is that "the Yard's nettled – that's what it is, and we're all on our mettle – that we are" (30).[178] When asked specifically about his own views of the case, Joe replies, "I don't know what to think. I'm fair puzzled" (47). And finally, when Bunting hints to him that he believes the Avenger might be a gentleman lodging in the West End – practically begging Joe to consider Mr. Sleuth – Joe misses the tip-off.

> "D'you mean that The Avenger may be a toff, staying in some West End hotel, Mr. Bunting? Well, things almost as funny as that 'ud be have come to pass." He smiled as if he found the notion a funny one … "Why, 'twould be like looking for a needle in a field of hay, Mr. Bunting! But there! I don't think it's anything quite so unlikely as that – not myself I don't." (186)

Joe declares, "I don't believe he'll ever be caught" (70), expressing little faith in the law-keeping organization of which he is a part. And indeed, the 5,000 constables working the case are unable to prevent the murders that Mrs. Bunting could stop with a single word. The police, then, appear inept, and the network of shared information that develops between Joe and Bunting is proven by Mrs. Bunting, again and again, to be based on misinformation.

As Joe and Bunting exchange information nearly every day about the case, Mrs. Bunting usually feigns disinterest. When Joe brings news about a description the police are planning to circulate, Mrs. Bunting slips into the room without being observed: "she was still standing with her back against the door, looking at the group in front of her. None of them were thinking of her – she thanked God for that! She could hear everything that was said without joining in the talk and excitement" (59). But her exclusion from the group is not always by choice. Slightly earlier, she appears to get upset at news of the latest – double – murder.

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[178] "The Yard" is an allusion to police headquarters in Scotland Yard.

> "Ellen?" [Bunting] said warningly, "Ellen, now do have a care! I can't think what's come over you about these murders. Turn your mind away from them, do! We needn't talk about them – not so much, that is –"
>
> "But I wants to talk about them," cried Mrs. Bunting hysterically.
>
> The husband and wife were standing, one each side of the table, the man with his back to the fire, the woman with her back to the door. (52)

Afraid of the murders' effects on his wife's mind, Bunting attempts to exclude her from sharing their information about the case. This forces the couple into an adversarial position, with Mrs. Bunting once again on the outside looking in.

Bunting comes into more direct contact with police officialdom when Joe takes him and Daisy to visit the Black Museum at Scotland Yard, a gallery of crime paraphernalia from the most famous criminal cases in Britain. In many ways, this is a monument to both the efficacy and the failure of the British police force: a catalogue of crimes that have been solved, but not prevented. Notably, Mrs. Bunting does not accompany them, although she is invited along. In fact, the chapter that encompasses the museum visit (IX) is the first to take place outside of Mrs. Bunting's domestic space, and she rarely leaves her home. Of the museum, she says, "'Twould turn me sick" (63), and refuses to go for reasons of bodily illness. As we shall see, however, Mrs. Bunting has no need to venture into the building "where throbs the heart of that great organism which fights the forces of civilized crime" (63) – she has more insight into the Avenger case than anyone there. Again, a body metaphor is used, with the body of the police force compared, implicitly and unfavourably, to the divergent embodied knowledge held by Mrs. Bunting. Although the chapter reads like a crime procedural (Joe takes Bunting and Daisy past the Fingerprint Identification Room, and explains various stages of investigation and capture), the fact remains that all of these professional men, with all the science, money and power behind them, are unable to obtain the knowledge that Mrs. Bunting already has: the identity of the Avenger.

Newspapers, too, are an official body for the purveyance of knowledge, and they, like the police, come in for criticism in The Lodger. Despite the fact that the novel itself was published serially in a newspaper, Lowndes uses her narrative to interrogate newspapers as purveyors of facts. By doing this, she highlights the clashing modes of representation that exist in newspaper reports of the crimes, and in her novel. Newspapers are coded throughout the text as male; Mr. Bunting buys and reads the papers, and Mrs. Bunting often disapproves of this indulgence.[179] He is described one afternoon as buying papers "recklessly – in fact, he must have spent the best part of sixpence" (119), a large expense for a household so recently on the edge of financial ruin. When Mrs. Bunting does read a newspaper, she does so on the sly, early in the morning when no one is watching. And afterwards, she covers her tracks. Lowndes writes, "Slowly and carefully Mrs. Bunting folded the paper up again in its original creases, and then she stooped and put it back down on the mat where she had found it" (48). Her participation in this channel of knowledge is illicit.

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[179] This is a strange reversal for Lowndes, who was a professional journalist herself.

Further, the newspapers are shown to get their information wrong at times. There are several instances in which Bunting learns facts from Joe that "hadn't been recorded in his newspaper" (30). They also behave irresponsibly towards their publics. In fact, Joe blames the newspapers for allowing the Avenger to continue his crime spree. He explains to Bunting:

> It's all along of them blarsted papers that The Avenger went to work a different way this time . . . The newspapers was always saying how extraordinary it was that The Avenger chose such a peculiar time to do his deeds – I mean, the time when no one's about the streets. Now, doesn't it stand to reason that the fellow, reading all that, and seeing the sense of it, said to himself, "I'll go on another tack this time"? (121)

Of course, Mr. Sleuth reads only the Bible and his concordance, but Mrs. Bunting gleans bits of information from the papers, as we have seen. Several of her hints to him are based on this information; the papers, indeed, prolong the criminal career of the Avenger.

The last official channel of knowledge The Lodger interrogates is the legal system. It illustrates the ways in which the court's treatment of women does a disservice not just to women themselves, but also to any concept of authentic justice.

Mrs. Bunting's decision to secretly attend the inquest into one of the murders is perhaps surprising, but her sole reason for attending is to ascertain whether or not her lodger is a suspect in the case. Moreover, she would not even have access to the public inquest without the help of a friendly police officer who mistakes her for a sister-in-law of the victim – again, typecasting women as victims rather than agents. He walks her into court, saying "Lucky you met me . . . You'd never have got through alone" (135). Even with this access, however, the officer escorts her out before the medical evidence is presented (149). Once in court, Mrs. Bunting is amazed to see all the prominent gentlemen assembled. She thinks to herself,

> How strange, how amazing, to reflect that from all parts of London, from their doubtless important avocations, one unseen, mysterious beckoner had brought all these men here together, to this sordid place, on this bitterly cold, dreary day. Here they were, all thinking of, talking of, evoking one unknown, mysterious personality – that of the shadowy and yet terribly real human being who chose to call himself The Avenger. And somewhere, not so very far away from them all, The Avenger was keeping these clever, astute, highly trained minds – aye, and bodies, too – at bay. (136-137)

This, then, is the heart of the Avenger's appeal for Mrs. Bunting: his nearly absolute power over the London elite. For a marginalized woman who couldn't even attend a public inquest without male intervention, the Avenger's power to assemble many of the most important men in the city is overwhelming.

The courtroom itself is explicitly described as a male space, and it is indeed uncomfortable for the few women in the room. Lowndes writes, "the women were few; the great majority of those standing there were men – men who were also representative of every class of Londoner" (137). Even class is not enough to preclude participation in the spectacle of the inquest – only women are essentially barred. Most of the women in attendance are there as witnesses, and they, like Mrs. Bunting, appear to appreciate their unusual access to participate in an official inquest. Lowndes writes, "Each woman witness looked eager, excited, and animated; well pleased to be the centre of attention and attraction to the general public" (138). For these women, this is their chance to claim a public voice in the Avenger case. It does not, however, turn out as they might have hoped. One woman, cross-examined by a Jury member about whether or not the suspect she saw was wearing a coat, cries out, "I never said so! . . . I was made to say all those things by the young man what came to me from the *Evening Sun*" (143). Her credibility, not to mention the credibility of that newspaper, is irreparably damaged. Furthermore, we are told, "this interruption, this – accusation, had utterly upset the witness. She began contradicting herself hopelessly" (144). Another woman is made to acknowledge that the foggy conditions on the night in question might have obscured her view, again discrediting her testimony. A third "had nothing to say throwing any light on the investigation, save that she admitted reluctantly that 'Anny' would have been such a nice, respectable young woman if it hadn't been for the drink" (145). Each woman's statement is essentially debunked, save for the third witness, who is forced to publicly impugn the reputation of her dead friend. Women's voices, at the inquest, are highly mediated. In fact, the only piece of testimony that remotely resembles fact comes from a bizarre little man named "Mr. Cannot." He describes the Avenger as looking very much like Mr. Sleuth, which strikes fear into Mrs. Bunting's heart. But his strange mannerisms make him a laughingstock, and the court ignores him. The efficacy of the court is thus brought into question, and the fact that the only person present with any direct knowledge of the case is kept by systemic forces on the outside of the proceedings ensures that justice will not be done.

The inquest is significant for one other reason: it is here that we receive our only descriptions of the murdered women. We hear two of their names – Johanna Cobbett and Sophy Hurtle (141) – and are told the location of their bodies, although not their conditions. The morgue where they lie is apparently open to the public, and yet we the readers are not allowed to access them. Only the male jury, it seems, has seen the bodies. Still, this close proximity to the victims – the women, perhaps, who are haunting her – has a striking effect on Mrs. Bunting. We are told, "the full and deadly horror of The Avenger's acts came over Mrs. Bunting in a great seething flood of sick fear and – and yes, remorse" (141). Although, as we have seen, Mrs. Bunting is no "sister" to her fellow women, in the face of their horrific deaths, and in such close proximity to their very bodies, she is forced to empathize with them. Walking home from the inquest, she has a physical reaction as she thinks of the women, and turns sick and faint. "So sick and faint," in fact, "that she did what she had never done before in her life – she pushed her way into a public-house, and, putting two pennies down on the counter, asked for, and received, a glass of cold water" (151). Lowndes continues,

> Shudderingly, she visualized the two cold bodies lying in the mortuary. She seemed also to see that third body, which, though cold, must yet be warmer than the other two, for at this time yesterday The Avenger's last victim had been alive, poor soul – alive and, according to a companion of hers whom the papers had already interviewed, particularly merry and bright. (151)

As soon as Mrs. Bunting is in proximity to the victims' bodies, her own body seems to react in kind: sickening, shuddering as if in sympathy with the cold, dead bodies, and forcing her into a public house for the first time in her life – which, after all, is where the Avenger selects his victims. Her own body, it seems, is intent on reminding her of her bond with other women, forcing her into the same physical space inhabited by the Avenger's. Lowndes thereby challenges the "guilt" of the victims, and forces Mrs. Bunting to question the Avenger's need to avenge, which earlier in the novel she appeared to understand.

Mrs. Bunting's sympathy with the murder victims does not last long; after her walk home, she "thought of them no more" (151). However, it does remind us of an important point: Mrs. Bunting may have a bizarre relationship with her lodger, but it is not based in uncomplicated misogyny. We have seen how Mrs. Bunting's ambivalent relationship with her own gender role has resulted in a strange maternal feeling for Mr. Sleuth, coupled with a disinterest in his victims. But this very ambivalence also allows her a unique opportunity to turn aspects of her prescribed gender role to her advantage, and grant her a measure of knowledge and power. In fact, Mrs. Bunting's apparent collusion with the Avenger, potentially ideologically dangerous though it is, provides the basis for the construction of an alternative system of knowledge, one that exists outside of (and is continually contrasted with) official channels of investigation and knowledge, like the police and the press. This system of feminine knowledge and power is in the hands of women – indeed, it can *only* exist in the hands of women – who turn their marginal social position to their advantage in the collection and wielding of these subtle forms of knowledge and power. The danger presented by the Avenger is thus representative of the danger of excluding women from social power structures: the danger to women and, as Lowndes demonstrates, to society itself.

Mrs. Bunting creates her own system of knowledge and assumes for herself a position of power that stands in direct contrast to the official channels of knowledge and power that Lowndes shows to be misguided and ineffectual. As Mrs. Bunting performs the duties associated with her sex, cleaning, cooking, waiting on the lodger, and silently observing her husband's interactions with the newspapers, police, and legal system from which women's participation is either explicitly or implicitly barred, Mrs. Bunting begins to collect bits of information, and becomes a far better detective than the professional male detective, Joe Chandler. As a domestic worker, she takes advantage of her social invisibility to closely observe her lodger's actions. It is "When she was doing the stairs and the landing" (33-34) that Mrs. Bunting first hears Mr. Sleuth's recitation of suspicious Bible verses. She observes his comings and goings, and when he is out she uses the opportunity ostensibly to clean his rooms, but really to conduct a search. After looking everywhere for Mr. Sleuth's mysterious and ominous brown leather bag,

> she soon formed a theory as to its whereabouts . . . [It] was almost certainly locked up in the lower part of the drawing-room chiffonnier. Mr. Sleuth evidently always carried the key of the little corner cupboard about his person; Mrs. Bunting had also had a good hunt for that key, but, as was the case with the bag, the key had disappeared. (32)

The next time she cleans his rooms, "she looked at the rosewood chiffonnier with longing eyes – she even gave that pretty little piece of furniture a slight shake" (45), but to no avail. It is important to note that Mrs. Bunting is not a passive observer – she is an active agent in her own investigation into her lodger's activities. Indeed, her position is one the official police would appreciate: she has the lodger under her observation at all times, and often has unfettered access to his belongings, finances, and living space. But this investigative boon exists solely because of the domestic responsibilities accorded her by virtue of her sex. Her knowledge is therefore inherently feminine, and thus yields knowledge to which the police, courts, and newspapers have no access.

Mrs. Bunting, who has been described as a clever woman, knows herself to have a curious nature. Even when her curiosity leads her investigation into dangerous circumstances, she follows through on her urge to discover the truth. Slightly later in the novel, Mrs. Bunting again searches the lodger's room on the pretext of cleaning it.

This time, she tips the chiffonnier back and forth, trying to discern the contents. Lowndes writes, "A moment later, with sharp dismay, Mr. Sleuth's landlady realized that the fact that she had moved the chiffonnier must become known to her lodger, for a thin trickle of some dark-coloured liquid was oozing out through the bottom of the little cupboard door" (73). She is horrified and suspicious of the thick, red liquid, her fear prompting her to recognize in it a trace of the absent bodies of the Avenger's victims. Indeed this bodily fluid, this blood, is her only direct encounter with the victims' bodies. She quickly concocts a story to disguise her investigation, and tells her lodger that in the course of cleaning she has accidentally tipped the chiffonnier, and that "a bottle of ink that was inside may have got broken, for just a few drops oozed out, sir" (75).[180] Though upset, Mr. Sleuth appears to accept her story. Mrs. Bunting castigates herself, "it was owing to her inquisitiveness, her restless wish to know things she would be none the better, none the happier, for knowing, that this accident had taken place" (74). Her curiosity may occasionally get the better of her, but her swift recovery demonstrates her investigative excellence. At the same time, she realizes that as an outsider to official channels of justice, the knowledge she obtains during her investigation will be of no material benefit to her.

Cleaning is not Mrs. Bunting's only domestic task. She is also responsible for cooking and feeding her household and any guests she may entertain, and she uses this task to tease information out of Joe Chandler. After personally discovering the second murder, Joe calls to see Bunting, who is out. She persuades him to stay and wait a while by offering him a cup of tea. As they sit and wait for Bunting, Joe begins to offer up details of the latest case. Mrs. Bunting offers him food, as well, which presumably would prolong their conversation:

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[180] This association of the victims' blood with ink is an extratextual reference to the "Dear Boss" letter of September 25, 1888, ostensibly from "Jack the Ripper." The text reads in part, "I saved some of the proper red stuff in a ginger beer bottle over the last job to write with but it went thick like glue and I cant use it. Red ink is fit enough I hope ha. ha" (original punctuation and underlining, Casebook.org).

> "Oh no, I couldn't eat anything," he said hastily. "I don't feel as if I could ever eat anything any more."
>
> "That'll only make you ill." Mrs. Bunting spoke rather crossly, for she was a sensible woman. And to please her he took a bite out of the slice of bread-and-butter she had cut for him. (38)

Over the course of their conversation, Mrs. Bunting gains important information about a description of a suspect that matches up suspiciously well with that of Mr. Sleuth. Perhaps she does not learn as much as she would have hoped, however; when Bunting returns home long after Joe has gone, the couple has their first argument of the novel:

> You don't mean to say, Ellen, that you can't even tell me where it happened?" he said indignantly. "I suppose you put Chandler off – that's what you did! Why, whatever did he come here for, excepting to tell us all about it?"
>
> "He came to have something to eat and drink," snapped out Mrs. Bunting. "That's what the poor lad came for, if you wants to know. He could hardly speak of it at all – he felt so bad." (39)

One detects a note of frustration in her shortness with her husband; perhaps this is the frustration of a skilled investigator boxed into a constraining social role. In any case, it is important to note that Mrs. Bunting does not pursue specific information from Joe, she attempts merely to ascertain whether or not the police share the knowledge that she holds.

Mrs. Bunting, then, attempts to keep tabs on the official channels of knowledge while she goes about her own investigation. In one particularly illustrative scene, she physically appropriates a tool of those official channels of knowledge and uses it for her own, decidedly feminine ends. After Mr. Sleuth has spent the night making his mysterious "experiments" in her kitchen, she decides to investigate the source of the burning-wool smell she has noticed all night. Lowndes writes,

> Making a 'spill' out of a twist of newspaper – she had been taught the art as a girl by one of her old mistresses – she stooped and flung open the oven-door of her gas-stove. Yes, it was as she suspected; a fierce heat had been generated there since she had last used the oven, and through to the stone floor below had fallen a mass of black, gluey soot. (113-114)[181]

Instead of reading the newspaper for information, Mrs. Bunting turns it into an investigative tool of her own, in a way that was handed down to her by an older generation of women. She deploys this explicitly feminine tool within her own domestic space, her kitchen, to learn still more about her lodger's actions. And of course, the evidence she uncovers, traces of burned women's clothing, is far more factual that anything that might appear in a newspaper.

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[181] The Oxford English Dictionary defines the noun "spill" as "a splinter; a sharp-pointed fragment of wood, bone, etc.; a slip or sliver."

The final element of Mrs. Bunting's feminine system of knowledge is perhaps the simplest: the messages passed on to her by her own body. Throughout the novel, Mrs. Bunting exhibits a form of embodied information about her lodger. As we have seen, Lowndes employs a metaphor of illness to describe her relationship with the lodger, and Mrs. Bunting's physical reactions always speak the truth. The first time Joe speaks of a suspect carrying a bag similar to one owned by Mr. Sleuth, for example, Mrs. Bunting says nothing, but "There had come across her – just right in her middle, like – such a strange sensation, a curious kind of tremor, or fluttering" (38). Her body appears to recognize the connection between the anonymous suspect and her lodger, even before she is consciously firm in her suspicions. Slightly later, when she discovers the red "ink" dripping out of Mr. Sleuth's cupboard, we are told that "Mrs. Bunting grew chalky white, then recovered herself quickly. In fact the colour rushed into her face, and she grew hot all over" (73). It is as if her body is quickly able to recognize the import of her discovery, even if her mind is slower to grasp it.

Mrs. Bunting is not, however, the only woman in the text who appears to have access to this feminine, embodied form of knowledge. Two other characters who appear only briefly confirm that Mrs. Bunting is not alone in her participation in this alternative realm. First, the most accurate description of Mr. Sleuth as a suspect in the Avenger murders comes from the unlikely source of a barmaid, who meets the man in the course of her duties. No other descriptions come close to "picturing Mr. Sleuth with such awful accuracy" (183), and yet the police don't appear to follow up on her description, nor does it spark any suspicion in Joe Chandler. Only the barmaid herself and Mrs. Bunting seem to know the importance of the description. And second, aside from Bunting's late suspicions of Mr. Sleuth, the only character who recognizes the danger posed by the lodger is, strangely enough, Bunting's dead first wife. When Bunting comes across his lodger late one night walking on the street, "A stuffless voice – the voice of his first wife, the long-dead girl to whom his mind so seldom reverted nowadays – uttered into his ear the words, 'Take care!'" (163). Significantly, it is a woman's voice warning Bunting; only women have access to information about the true nature of Mr. Sleuth.

By highlighting the embodied nature of Mrs. Bunting's knowledge and by rooting her intelligence-gathering activities in feminine domestic tasks, Lowndes insists on the inherently feminine nature of Mrs. Bunting's power. Her association between women and domestic space, of course, is not unique to The Lodger. As Vanessa D. Dickerson describes in her introduction to Keeping the Victorian House, "The Victorian woman more than any other female before or after her was in the house, of the house, the very house itself" (xviii-xix). Moreover, the relegation of women to domestic spaces simultaneously functioned to limit women's "access to exterior expanses, and to abstract and thereby dismiss her powers in realms where men expressed themselves and wielded material-based power" (Dickerson xv). The close association between women and domestic space applied to virtually all women throughout the Victorian era, as did their resultant exclusion from predominantly masculine institutions of power. Thus Lowndes' own feminist beliefs shine through in her fiction; her depiction of domestic activities as potential avenues for knowledge and power comprises an extraordinary cultural reversal, in which the tools of oppression become the tools of emancipation – at least for one woman, Mrs. Bunting.[182]

The climax of the novel occurs at Madame Tussaud's wax museum, where Mr. Sleuth takes Daisy and Mrs. Bunting as a treat for the girl's birthday. It is here that they run across a group of police officers, leading Mr. Sleuth to jump to the false conclusion that Mrs. Bunting has betrayed him. He quickly disappears, leaving Mrs. Bunting feeling "as if stricken in a vital part" (198), and yet simultaneously relieved by the information she gathers at Madame Tussaud's; that is, that Mr. Sleuth is insane. She explains to her husband that this news of insanity means that "the lodger was never responsible for his actions. I never thought he was, for my part." Bunting disagrees: "Depends on what you call responsible" (200). This question of responsibility is central to the conclusion of this novel. Is Mr. Sleuth responsible for the killings? Moreover, is Mrs. Bunting negligent in her responsibility to report her suspicions to the police? Is Bunting? Or is their responsibility to the sanctity of their own household, and maintaining its respectable and scandal-free façade? Lowndes provides some answers to these important questions. At one point in the novel, Joe Chandler, that representative of official law and order, opines that turning in suspected criminals is "the plain duty of everyone – everyone, that is, who's a good citizen" (83). But slightly later, Lowndes interjects, "So far, perhaps because she is subject rather than citizen, her duty as a component part of civilized society weighs but lightly on woman's shoulders" (98). This passage is the basis for Marcus's argument that the novel boils down to a question of citizenship. Certainly, Lowndes suggests that if women are excluded from citizenship, not just women – but "civilized society" itself suffers. This, then, is the danger inherent in the "separate spheres" model of society that structured Victorian life: if women are excluded from civil society, they cannot be expected to take an active interest in its wellbeing.

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[182] This reversal was precisely the strategy employed by Victorian domestic feminists from the 1830s on, and demonstrates the influence of Lowndes' own involvement with feminist political activism.

The fact that Lowndes published this narrative multiple times permits scholars a fascinating glimpse into the revision process. This in turn suggests that my reading of the feminist content of the novel was indeed intentional. For example, in the short story version, there is far more emphasis on Mrs. Bunting's financial motives for silence, and less on her complicity in the lodger's actions. Lowndes does not concentrate particularly on Mrs. Bunting; Bunting himself is as much a main character as his wife in the short story. There is no Joe Chandler character to represent the police force in the short story, and therefore it is more difficult to discern a contrast between official systems of knowledge and the feminine knowledge that Mrs. Bunting creates. And finally (and perhaps most significantly), the endings of the two versions are different. The rather anti-climactic nature of the novel's conclusion, in which Mr. Sleuth simply disappears, leaves room for an open-ended interpretation. The threat he represents is never allowed a sense of closure; the possibility his return and resumption of criminal activity remains. This is Lowndes' reminder that the position of women in society is not yet equal to men, and that vigilance and attention are still required. Mr. Sleuth's last words to Mrs. Bunting, beginning as they do with the threat, "Do not think to escape the consequences of your hideous treachery" (195), rather suggest that his return is inevitable. In the short story, however, five days after Mr. Sleuth disappears, "Bunting identified the body of a man found drowned in the Regent's Canal as that of his late lodger" (25). Based on the evidence of Lowndes' revisions, it appears that her construction of a feminist subtext to The Lodger was quite deliberate.

By collecting information about Mr. Sleuth through the creation of a system of feminine knowledge, Mrs. Bunting assumes a measure of power over her lodger. It is within her power to turn him in at any time, and although she never takes such an action, the fact that the possibility exists imbues her with secret power over his life. While this power is certainly never depicted in a wholly positive light – it nearly destroys Mrs. Bunting's physical and mental health – this is the first Ripper narrative that might allow female readers to assume imaginative power over and control of the Ripper.[183] This figure of terror was so real to women that one 1888 newspaper reports an instance of a female reader dying of terror just reading about the case (Walkowitz 218). He was so real to men that hundreds immediately adopted his persona and began to attack women physically on the streets, and figuratively in print.[184] As

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[183] As a professional detective, Ethel King is a less relatable character than Lowndes' housekeeper-protagonist. King's professional status in the male world of detection distances her from average female readers, while Mrs. Bunting functions within The Lodger as a representative of the common British woman.

[184] See, for example, Evans and Skinner's anthology Jack the Ripper: Letters from Hell which is comprised of hundreds of letters from men claiming to be Jack the Ripper, and detailing the horrific crimes they wish or plan to commit against women. While many of these letters are undoubtedly the

Walkowitz reports, the Ripper narrative allowed for the expression of a potent vein of misogynist violence in Victorian London:

> In pubs across London, drunks bragged of their exploits as Jack the Ripper. Some Ripper impersonators harassed prostitutes and tried to extort money from them . . . . [T]here was also a domestic reenactment of the Ripper drama between husbands and wives in various working-class districts. (I have no evidence of middle-class cases.) (219)

Walkowitz concludes that the Ripper case "established a common vocabulary and iconography for the forms of male violence that permeated the whole society" (220). By assuming imaginative control over the Ripper/Avenger in her novel, Lowndes stages a protest against the problem of male violence more generally, and allows her readers to experience a form of power-by-proxy despite their perhaps under-privileged social positions. Finally, with The Lodger, we have a Ripper narrative in which common, average women are not victims – or at least, they are not solely victims – but are competent wielders of power and active collectors of information. The mode of representation has shifted, and women now assume a central position in the narrative. Whatever the inherent ideological risks Lowndes assumes in her complex and multi-layered novel, this is a significant and ground-breaking change in the cultural evolution of the larger Ripper narrative.

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fantasies of twisted minds, the central figure of Jack the Ripper acts as a catalyst that allows for the expression of a strikingly misogynist and violent cultural attitude towards women.

Epilogue

The Ripper Narrative in the Twenty-First Century:

The “Ipswich Ripper” and the “Vice Girls” He Killed

In this dissertation, I have studied a particular mode of representation of female victims of sexual violence as it appears in the specific, Victorian example of Jack the Ripper. As I have shown (and as scholars like Judith Walkowitz and Perry Curtis Jr. have amply demonstrated), cultural narratives of the Ripper’s crimes grew out of a set of pre-existing social conditions that both shaped and were shaped by the Ripper narrative as it emerged and evolved. The mode of representation that casts the Ripper as a “folk hero” (Rumbelow 275) while denigrating or ignoring his victims is thus not unique to the Ripper case – but the case does arguably comprise its most widespread and long-lived expression. Rosemary Hennessy observes that “in some cases, the selection of a particular historical moment becomes urgent . . . because the discourses emerging in that particular social formation continue to exercise ideological pressures on the present” (118-119). The constant recurrence of crimes similar to those of the Ripper, the continuing appearance of the Ripper in popular culture, and the media’s tendency to brand any woman-killer with the “Ripper” sobriquet, thereby invoking the contiguous representational field, suggest that the historical moment in which the Ripper committed his crimes is still very much a part of present-day culture, and that the mode of representation associated with this case remains in circulation.

Jane Caputi argues that "the pattern laid down" by the press – what I would call the mode of representation employed by the press – during the original Ripper crisis "now functions as a conventionally repeated formula" (5) in newspaper accounts of the sexual murder of women. The general pattern to which she refers is the construction of narratives of sexual violence against women in ways that lionize the perpetrators at the expense of the victims. The victims are thus marginalized in their own narratives, while the perpetrators take centre stage. Caputi argues for a reconsideration of the heroic status of the Ripper, in order to encourage a similar reconsideration of contemporary narratives of crimes against women. Judith Walkowitz makes a similar observation in her Epilogue to City of Dreadful Delight, which compares the so-called "Yorkshire Ripper" murders of the late 1970s to the Ripper's own crimes nearly a century earlier, and identifies a number of parallels in cultural responses to the two cases (229-246).[185] The treatment of women by the press during the Ripper crisis continues to exert tremendous influence on present modes of representation in crime reportage, often unhappily for the women involved. I agree with both Caputi and Walkowitz that elements of the original Ripper case continue to surface in contemporary narratives of the sexual murders of women, and that these elements must be identified and recognized as holdovers from an earlier era in order to challenge the dangerously misogynist ideologies embedded within them. For precisely this reason, investigations of the differing ways narratives make meanings of the Ripper case and represent his victims are particularly timely, and require further scholarly attention.

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[185] The "Yorkshire Ripper" was the media nickname for Peter Sutcliffe, who murdered thirteen women in the 1970s before his arrest and conviction.

The problem of sexual violence against impoverished women and sex trade workers is pervasive in our culture, as it has been in the years since Jack the Ripper's murders in 1888.[186] Clearly, the decades since the Ripper's murders have done little to improve the lot of women living in poverty; their lives remain some of the most vulnerable and disposable in our society, and they are being killed in ever-growing numbers.[187] In December, 2006, the residents of the small English town of Ipswich found themselves at the centre of an international media circus when the naked, strangled bodies of five women were discovered over the course of just ten days in the nearby area of Nacton. The victims were quickly identified as Gemma Adams, Tania Nicol, Anneli Alderton, Paula Clennell, and Annette Nicholls ("Man Denies Suffolk Murder Charges" para 2). There was no evidence of sexual assault in any of the cases, nor were any of the bodies mutilated after death. The fact that all the victims worked as prostitutes, however, quickly led newspapers to draw comparisons with the Ripper case. Indeed, comparisons came easily: the number of victims matched the Ripper's, the victims were all poor, substance-abusing prostitutes, and their deaths sparked enormous police and media responses, as well as strong public outrage.

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[186] To cite just two examples, Gary Leon Ridgway, the "Green River Killer," murdered forty-eight women in Washington in the 1980s, many of them prostitutes (Gary Tuchman para 2). More recently in Canada, Robert William Pickton was charged in 2002 with the murders of six women, all sex workers from Vancouver's troubled lower-East side. According to the CBC, he has confessed to a total of forty-nine murders, and further charges are pending ("The Missing Women of Vancouver").

[187] In their book Violence Against Women, Karin L. Swisher and Carol Wekesser report that not just murder rates, but rates of non-fatal violence against women are on the rise. Referring to American statistics, they write, "A 1990 Senate committee report indicates that three out of four women will be victims of violent crime during their lifetime. According to a national crime survey, since 1974 assaults against women have risen 50 percent, while assaults against young men have declined by 12 percent" (18). They add the vast majority of violent assaults on women are committed by men (18).

The press quickly dubbed the killer the "Ipswich Ripper" or "Suffolk Ripper." The new moniker was often used without explanation or further reference to the "original" Ripper of 1888, as if the mere mention of the name was enough to invoke the narrative of the earlier crimes. On December 13, BBC News reported that even outside of Britain, "[m]any international newspapers are likening the killings of five prostitutes in Suffolk to the case of Jack the Ripper in the 19th century" ("World papers talk of 'new ripper'" para 1). The Times Online provided readers with the most overt comparison. An article published on December 13 compares the Ipswich murders to a series of historical murder sprees: those of Jack the Ripper, "Jack the Stripper," the "Yorkshire Ripper," and the "Camden Ripper" (Stewart Tendler, paras 6, 7, 9).[188] These criminals have varying methods and motives; what draws them together and allows for their ultimate categorization as "rippers" is not the nature of their crimes, but the sometimes tenuous association of their victims with prostitution.

Unsurprisingly then, much of the media coverage of the Ipswich Ripper's crimes reads as if it had been transcribed directly from coverage of the original Ripper's crimes in 1888. Most of the same narrative strategies and representational practices surface in the recent case. Reports before the December 19, 2006 arrest of suspect Steven Wright focus on identifying the unknown killer, and determining whether or not he could possibly be a local (David Sapsted para 17). Like London residents in 1888, Ipswich locals find it difficult to believe that the killer could be someone living amongst them. Questions of class conflict arise as reporters note the disparity between "the impoverished inhabitants of the small redbrick terraces in Ipswich's red light district" and "the affluent homeowners in the village of Nacton who woke up on Sunday to find police had cordoned off local woodland after a third body was found" (Terri Judd para 8). Columnists echo Victorian concerns about the degeneration of society; Simon Heffer argues in the Daily Telegraph that the murders are "a signpost of the way our increasingly horrible society is going" (para 9). As in the Ripper case, pundits suggest that the criminal could be a foreigner. Edward Barnes and George Kindel, for example, attempt to link the killer to crimes committed a month earlier in Atlantic City (para 1), suggesting that the murderer is an American. And the literary references to Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde that appear regularly in the original Ripper case are repeated in the Ipswich coverage, along with more contemporary references to the fictional detective Inspector Morse (Heffer para 9).

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[188] The "Stripper" killed seven prostitutes in London's West End in the 1960s. The "Camden Ripper" murdered three prostitutes in his council flat in 2003. A scholarly examination of the narratives surrounding each of these "Ripper" criminals could provide valuable insight into the cultural evolution of the Ripper narrative in the twentieth century.

Coverage of the Ipswich case overtly participates in the mode of representation of the victims that was employed in the original Ripper case. Instead of dubbing the murdered women "unfortunates," however, coverage of the Ipswich Ripper refers to the victims as "vice girls" and "tarts." Michael Horsnell reports in the online version of the venerable Times that news of the crimes "strikes fear into vice girls" (headline). He is just one of many reporters to use the pejorative phrase, which simultaneously infantilizes and denigrates the women it purports to describe – they are "girls," not "women," and they are identified as participants in immoral sexual activity, not as women living in poverty. Heffer, in an editorial in the Daily Telegraph, opines that the vulnerability of prostitutes to violence "is of the self-inflicted form that comes with choosing a career as a tart" (para 7). Much like his predecessors at the same newspaper, Heffer assumes that women choose to work in the sex trade, and that any violence they experience is therefore a problem of their own making.[189] The murders are therefore the faults of the female victims, not of their killer, and certainly not of the larger society that turns a blind eye to their struggles.

As a final parallel, in both the original Ripper reportage and the coverage of the Ipswich murders, the overriding narrative emphasis is on fear. In both cases, article after article quotes policemen and other officials urging all local women to stay indoors, where they are presumably safe. In 2006 as in 1888, only a very small minority of women were actually at risk of personally experiencing the violence. Still, Sapsted reports that "Jeremy Penbrook, the leader of Suffolk County Council, last night appealed to all women in the town not to venture out alone" (para 13). His appeal was apparently effective. Sapsted relates a conversation with a local woman who states, "Female friends of mine are sleeping over at friends' after nights out and not even considering walking home alone" (para 20). Horsnell quotes "Joy," an office worker, as saying "I feel perfectly safe during the day but it's another matter when it gets dark. I try to make sure I'm not on my own leaving work" (para 6). Once again, the threat represented by the Ripper grew to encompass a large cross-section of women – not just the small community the criminal actually targeted. And the threat seemed real enough that it caused women to change their behavior, staying closer to home and moving about the city with less independence. As for the women who were actually at risk, many of them continued to work at night. "I have no choice," one stated. She could have been echoing the words of her Victorian colleagues as she explained, "I need the cash" (Judd para 5).

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[189] See p. 114 of this dissertation for earlier examples of this argument in the Victorian Daily Telegraph.

The parallels between the representational practices employed in the original Ripper reportage and those of the Ipswich Ripper are striking. However, in the case of the Ipswich Ripper, an alternate mode of representation grew up alongside the first, one that challenged the negative characterizations of the victims for media dominance. This alternate mode of representation, which focused on the lives of the women most affected by the crimes, provided a strong counterpoint to the "conventionally repeated formula" (Caputi 5) of Ripper coverage that appeared in most media accounts of the Ipswich murders. While the Women's Penny Paper attempted a similar intervention in 1888, its small circulation ensured that only a fraction of Londoners had access to its argument. In 2006, articles proclaiming the human value of the victims and critiquing the prevalent depictions of them as "tarts" and "vice girls" appeared in every major London newspaper alongside the very articles they criticized. And thanks to the efforts of advocacy groups such as the English Collective of Prostitutes, women who earn a living in the sex trade were included in the dissemination and public discussion of the murders.[190] Judd's article, for example, bears the headline "Voices from the sex trade: 'I have no choice. I need the cash. But I am scared'." It offers a look at the murders from the perspective of the women most at risk, in their own words. An article by Thomas Sutcliffe in The Independent, entitled "When victims are treated like criminals," argues strongly in defense of the maligned victims, and asserts that their profession need not define their characters. These articles are just two of many examples.[191]

Journalists participating in this alternate mode of narrative response to the Ipswich murders display a sophisticated understanding of the cultural connections between that case and the earlier, original Ripper murders. Jenny McCartney writes in the Daily Telegraph:

> The public tends to accept the one-off murder of a "vice girl" much more easily than that of a suburban housewife or a schoolgirl. . . . One reason is that the case of Jack the Ripper, that grisly piece of Victorian melodrama, is firmly lodged in the national psyche. (Paras 1-2)

In an interesting convergence, McCartney's article appears in the same paper that published the serial version of Marie Belloc Lowndes' The Lodger, another text that challenges dominant representational practices in the Ripper case. As both Lowndes and McCartney point out, by telling and retelling the Ripper narrative as a story about a glamorous, mysterious killer of degraded, worthless prostitutes – without ever questioning either the provenance of this story or the naturalness of our culture's repetition of it – the public's conception of prostitutes as women who exist in order to be victimized is reinforced.

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[190] According to their website, the English Collective of Prostitutes was founded in 1975 to campaign against laws that criminalize women involved in the sex trade and to advocate for the creation of economic alternatives for these women.

[191] Walkowitz documents a similar response from women throughout the Yorkshire Ripper case, during which she says "women claimed public space as their right" and "tried to regain the terms of the debate" (233). However, she concludes, these responses were treated by the mainstream press as "colorful sidelines" that were quickly co-opted (235).

In the Epilogue to City of Dreadful Delight, Walkowitz argues that the Yorkshire Ripper case of the 1970s comprises a "'Final Last Act' to the Whitechapel horrors of 1888" (231), the culmination of the Yorkshire case offering simultaneous closure for the original Ripper case, as well. The incidence of the Ipswich Ripper case, however, proves that the Ripper narrative continues to have cultural currency well into the twenty-first century, and that we have not yet seen the "Final Last Act" of the Ripper case. For a "Last Act" to occur, the representational practices that accompany the Ripper case in each of its articulations must be identified and interrogated – perhaps the most vital task now facing Ripper Studies. The project now lying before scholars of the Ripper case is thus to "proliferate and multiply representations, to construct a diversified agon of representations, dominated by no single voice but in which multiple voices speak and clash" (Prendergast 13). By directly engaging in shaping representation in this way, a new articulation of the Ripper narrative can emerge. It is my hope that this dissertation contributes to reshaping the Ripper narrative into a story that retains its original function as a "cautionary tale" (Walkowitz City 3) – but transforms the nature of that caution into a reminder for both men and women about the enduring cultural power of representation.

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Pall Mall Gazette

Reynolds's Newspaper

The Times

Windsor and Eton Gazette

Women's Penny Paper

List of Articles Accessed at

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(Edited by Stephen P. Ryder)

"Annie Chapman"
http://www.casebook.org/victims/chapman.html

"Annie Chapman: History"
http://www.casebook.org/victims/chapman.html

"Annie Chapman: Funeral"
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"Catherine Eddowes: History"
http://www.casebook.org/victims/eddowes.html

"Elizabeth Stride"
http://www.casebook.org/victims/stride.html

"Elizabeth Stride: History"
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"Elizabeth Stride: Funeral"
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"Elizabeth Stride: September 30th"
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"Graves of the Canonical Victims"
http://www.casebook.org/victims/graves.html

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"Mary Jane Kelly"
http://www.casebook.org/victims/mary_jane_kelly.html

"Mary Jane Kelly: Funeral"
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http://www.casebook.org/victims/mary_jane_kelly.html

"Photograph and Illustration Archive"
http://photos.casebook.org/displayimage.php?album=41&pos=8

Appendix of Illustrations

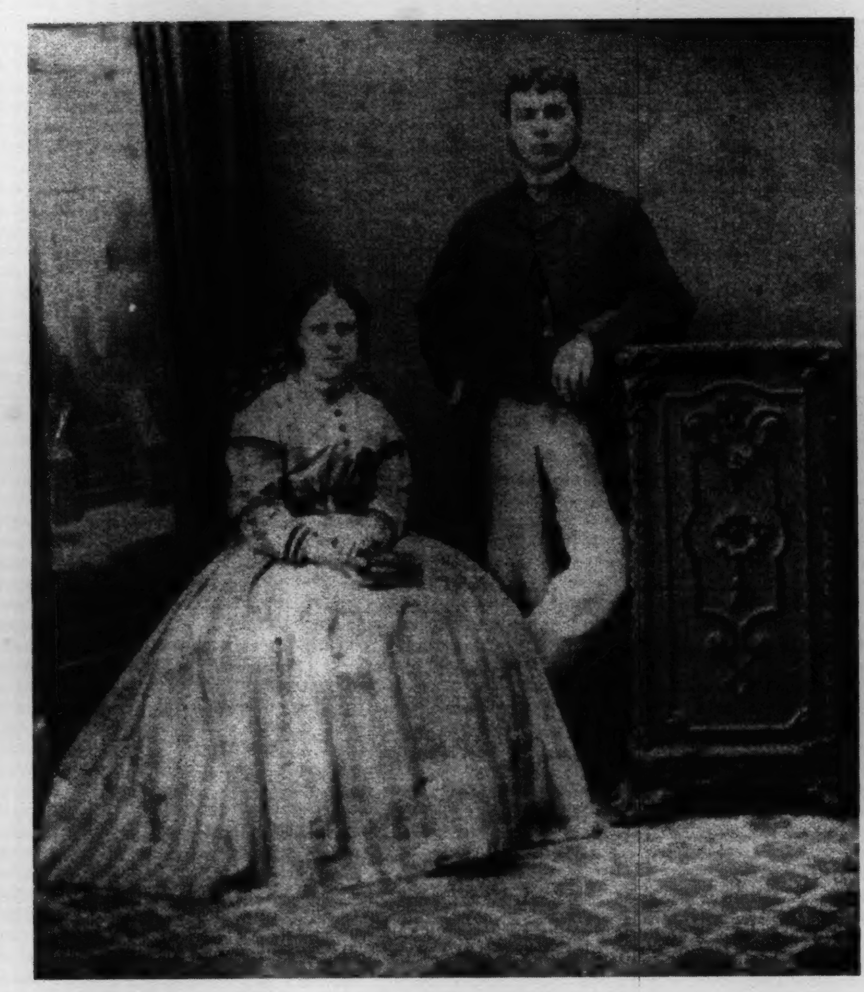


Figure 1: Annie and John Chapman in 1869
(Shelden AC 18)

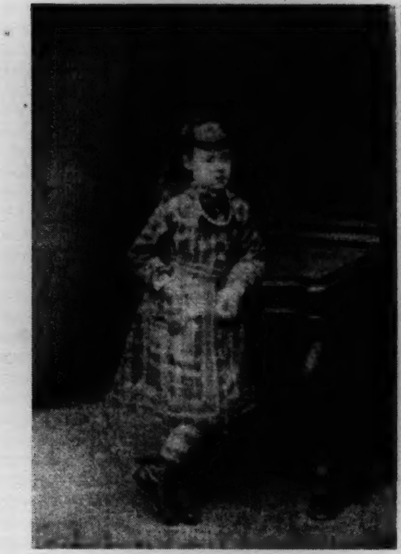
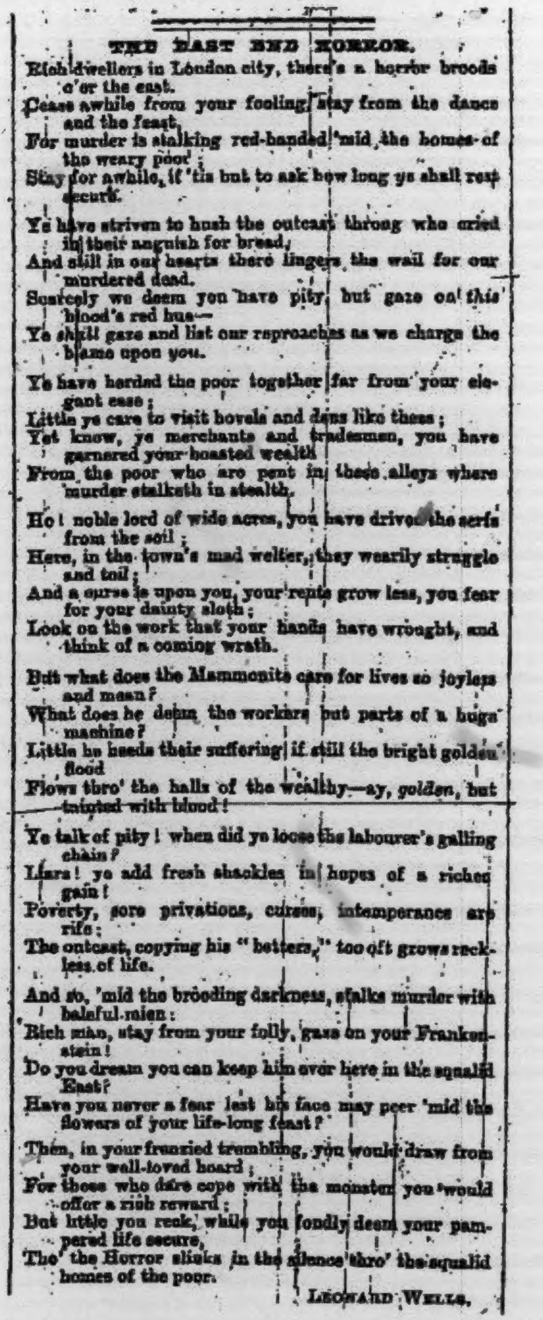


Figure 2: Emily Ruth Chapman circa 1879-1881
(Shelden AC 19)

Figure 3: Annie Georgina Chapman circa 1879-1881
(Shelden AC 21)



THE EAST END HORROR.

Rich dwellers in London city, there's a horror broods o'er the east.
Cease awhile *from* your fooling, stay from the dance and the feast,
For murder is stalking red-handed 'mid the homes of the weary poor;
Stay for awhile, if 'tis but to ask how long ye shall rest secure.

Ye have striven to hush the outcast throng who cried in their anguish for bread,
And still in our hearts there lingers the wail for our murdered dead.
Scarcely we deem you have pity, but gaze on *this* blood's red hue—
Ye shall gaze and list our reproaches as we charge the blame upon you.

Ye have herded the poor together *far from* your elegant ease;
Little ye care to visit hovels and dens like these;
Yet know, ye merchants and tradesmen, you have garnered your boasted wealth
From the poor who are pent in these alleys where murder stalketh in stealth.

Ho! noble lord of wide acres, you have driven the serfs from the soil;
Here, in the town's mad welter, they wearily struggle and toil;
And a curse is upon you, your rents grow less, you fear for your dainty sloth;
Look on the work that your hands have wrought, and think of a coming wrath.

But what does the Mammonite care for lives so joyless and mean?
What does he deem the workers but parts of a huge machine?
Little he heeds their suffering if still the bright golden flood
Flows thro' the halls of the wealthy—ay, *golden*, but tainted with blood!

Ye talk of pity! when did ye loose the labourer's galling chain?
Liars! ye add fresh shackles in hopes of a richer gain!
Poverty, sore privations, curses, intemperance are rife;
The outcast, copying his "betters," too oft grows reckless of life.

And so, 'mid the brooding darkness, stalks murder with baleful mien:
Rich man, stay from your folly, gaze on your Frankenstein!
Do you dream you can keep him over here in the squalid East?
Have you never a fear lest his face may peer 'mid the flowers of your life-long feast?

Then, in your frenzied trembling, you would draw from your well-loved hoard;
For those who dare cope with the monster you would offer a rich reward;
But little you reck, while you fondly deem your pampered life secure,
Tho' the Horror slinks *in* the silence thro' the squalid homes of the poor.

LEONARD WELLS.

Figure 4: Reynolds's Newspaper September 23, 2

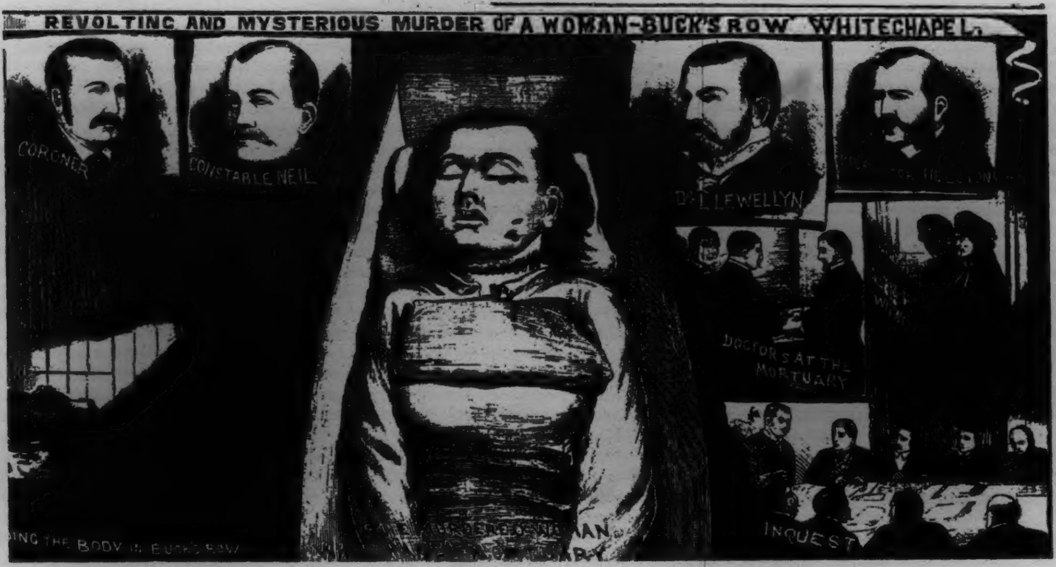

REVOLTING AND MYSTERIOUS MURDER OF A WOMAN—BUCK'S ROW WHITECHAPEL.
CORONER
CONSTABLE NEIL
DR. LLEWELLYN
DOCTORS AT THE MORTUARY
INQUEST
THE BODY IN BUCK'S ROW

Figure 5: Illustrated Police News September 8, 1

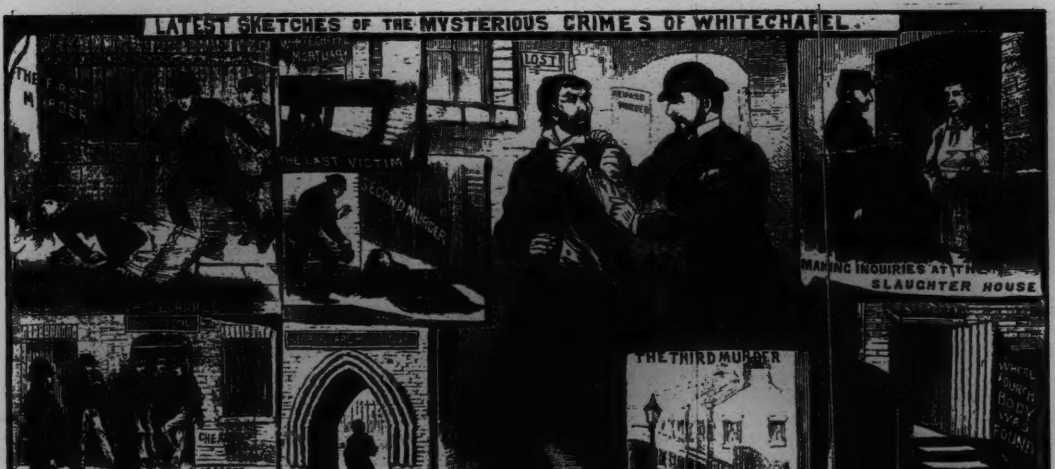

LATEST SKETCHES OF THE MYSTERIOUS CRIMES OF WHITECHAPEL.
THE FIRST MURDER
MORTUARY
THE LAST VICTIM
SECOND MURDER
LOST
MAKING INQUIRIES AT THE SLAUGHTER HOUSE
GEORGE YARD
ARRESTED ON SUSPICION
THE THIRD MURDER
BUCK'S ROW
WHERE FOURTH BODY WAS FOUND
HANBURY ST

Figure 6: Illustrated Police News September 15, 1

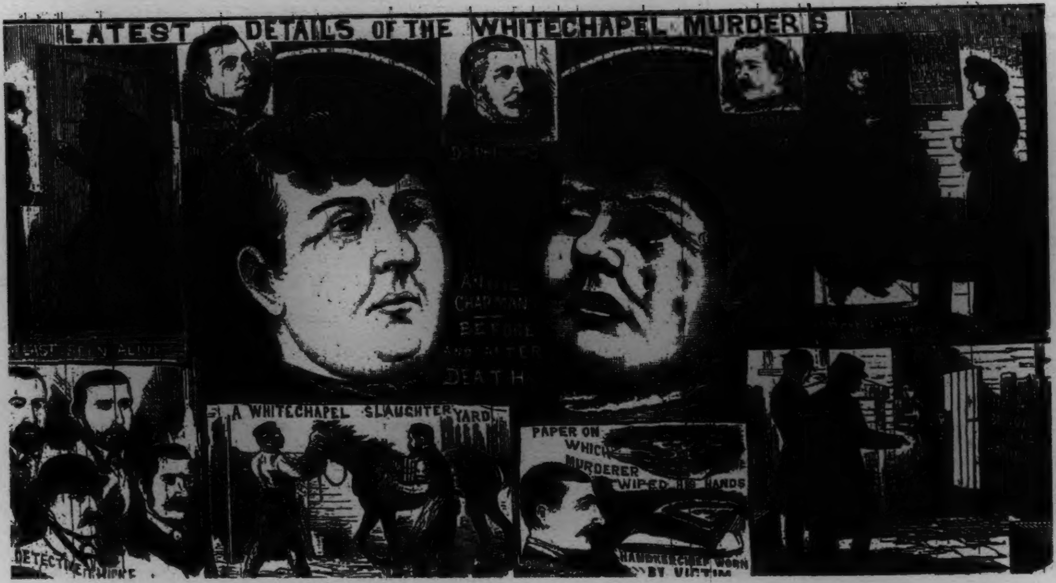

LATEST DETAILS OF THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERS
LAST SEEN ALIVE
ANNIE CHAPMAN BEFORE AND AFTER DEATH
A WHITECHAPEL SLAUGHTER YARD
PAPER ON WHICH MURDERER WIPED HIS HANDS
HANDKERCHIEF WORN BY VICTIM

Figure 7: Illustrated Police News September 22, 1

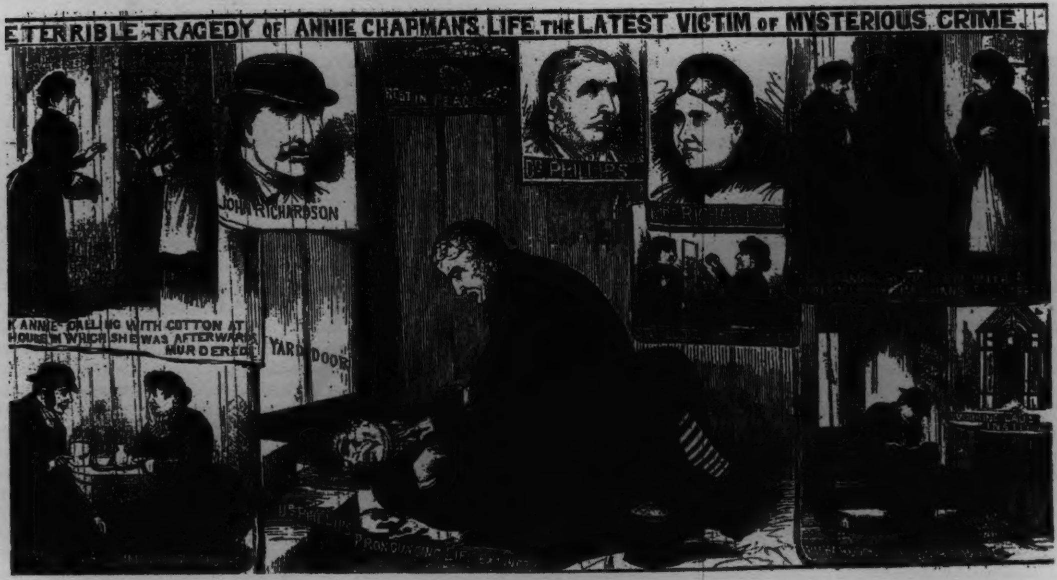
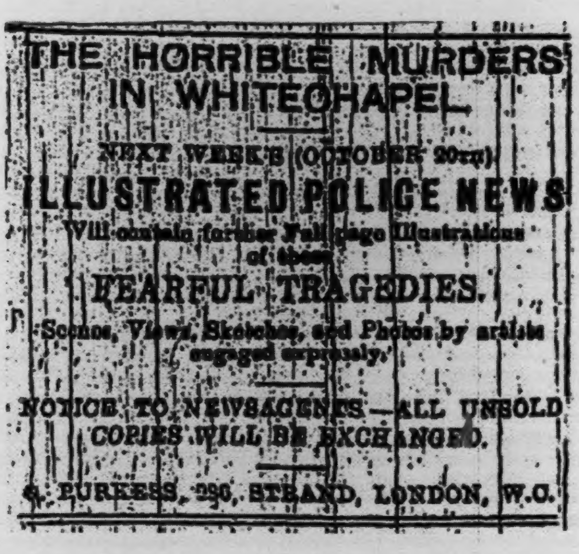

TERRIBLE TRAGEDY OF ANNIE CHAPMAN'S LIFE. THE LATEST VICTIM OF MYSTERIOUS CRIME.
REST IN PEACE
JOHN RICHARDSON
DR PHILLIPS
ANNIE DEALING WITH COTTON AT HOUSE IN WHICH SHE WAS AFTERWARDS MURDERED
YARD DOOR
DR PHILLIPS PRONOUNCING LIFE EXTINCT

Figure 8: Illustrated Police News September 29, 1



THE HORRIBLE MURDERS
IN WHITECHAPEL.

NEXT WEEK'S (OCTOBER 20TH)
ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS
Will contain further Full-page Illustrations
of these
FEARFUL TRAGEDIES.
Scenes, Views, Sketches, and Photos by artists
engaged expressly.

NOTICE TO NEWSAGENTS—ALL UNSOLD
COPIES WILL BE EXCHANGED.

G. PURKESS, 286, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

Figure 9: Illustrated Police News October 13, 4

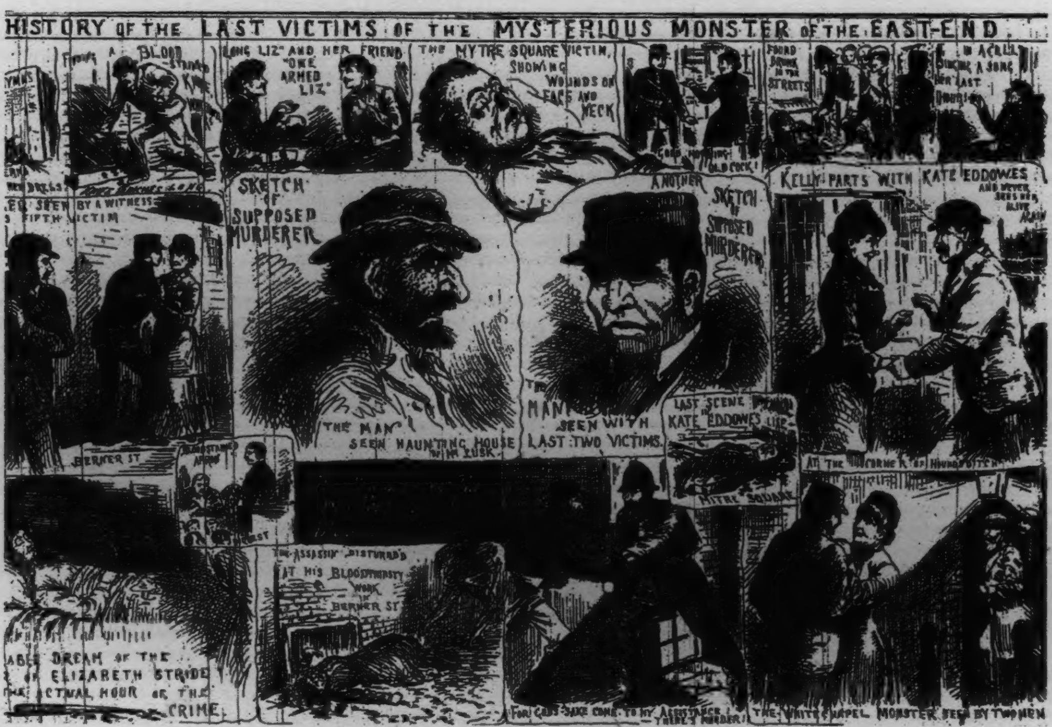

HISTORY OF THE LAST VICTIMS OF THE MYSTERIOUS MONSTER OF THE EAST-END.
FINDING A BLOOD STAINED KNIFE
"LONG LIZ" AND HER FRIEND "ONE ARMED LIZ"
THE MYTRE SQUARE VICTIM, SHOWING WOUNDS ON FACE AND NECK
GOOD MORNING, OLD COCK!
FOUND DRUNK IN THE STREETS
IN A CELL SINGING A SONG HER LAST HOURS
SEEN BY A WITNESS
FIFTH VICTIM
SKETCH OF SUPPOSED MURDERER
ANOTHER SKETCH OF SUPPOSED MURDERER
KELLY PARTS WITH KATE EDDOWES AND NEVER SEES HER ALIVE AGAIN
THE MAN SEEN HAUNTING HOUSE OF MR LUSK
THE MAN SEEN WITH LAST TWO VICTIMS.
LAST SCENE IN KATE EDDOWES LIFE
MITRE SQUARE
AT THE CORNER OF HOUNDSDITCH
BERNER ST
BLOODSTAINED APRON
THE ASSASSIN DISTURBED AT HIS BLOODTHIRSTY WORK IN BERNER ST
DREAM OF THE ELIZABETH STRIDE THE ACTUAL HOUR OF THE CRIME
FOR GOD'S SAKE COME TO MY ASSISTANCE! THERE'S MURDER!
THE WHITECHAPEL MONSTER SEEN BY TWO MEN

Figure 10: Illustrated Police News October 20, 1

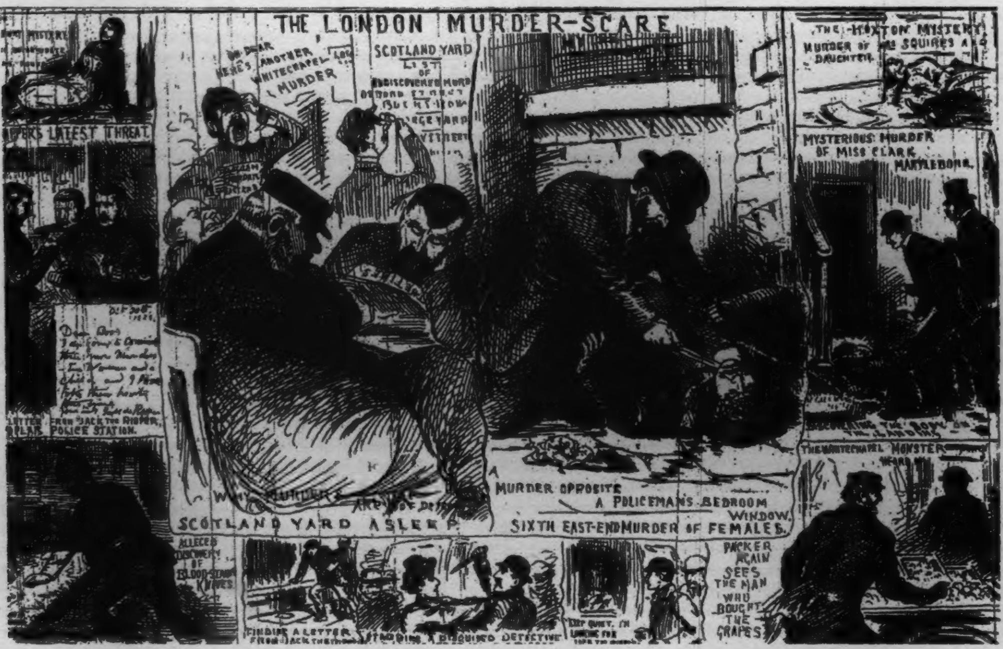

THE LONDON MURDER-SCARE
HERE'S ANOTHER WHITECHAPEL MURDER
SCOTLAND YARD
LIST OF UNDISCOVERED MURD
THE HOXTON MYSTERY
MURDER OF MRS SQUIRES AND DAUGHTER
RIPPER'S LATEST THREAT
MYSTERIOUS MURDER OF MISS CLARK MARYLEBONE
LETTER FROM JACK THE RIPPER POLICE STATION
THE WHITECHAPEL MONSTER
MURDER OPPOSITE A POLICEMAN'S BEDROOM WINDOW
SCOTLAND YARD ASLEEP
SIXTH EAST-END MURDER OF FEMALES
ALLEGED DISCOVERY OF BLOOD-STAINED KNIVES
FINDING A LETTER FROM JACK THE RIPPER
STABBING A DISGUISED DETECTIVE
PACKER AGAIN SEES THE MAN WHO BOUGHT THE GRAPES

Figure 11: Illustrated Police News November 10, 1

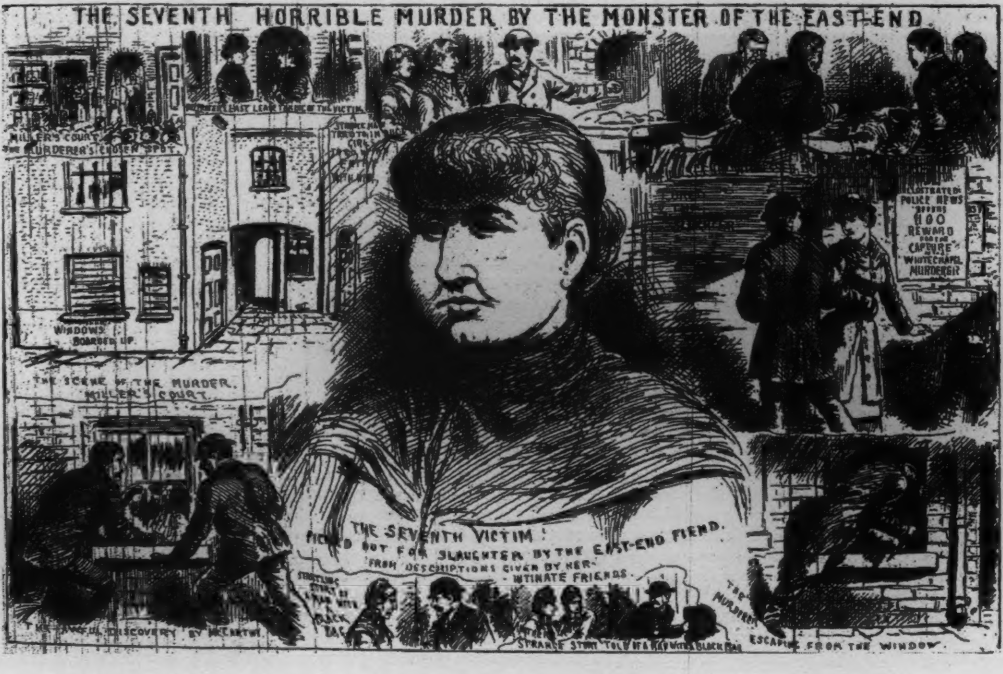

THE SEVENTH HORRIBLE MURDER BY THE MONSTER OF THE EAST-END
MILLER'S COURT
THE MURDERER'S CHOSEN SPOT
WINDOWS BOARDED UP
THE SCENE OF THE MURDER MILLER'S COURT
ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS OFFERS 100 REWARD FOR THE CAPTURE OF THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERER
THE SEVENTH VICTIM!
PICKED OUT FOR SLAUGHTER BY THE EAST-END FIEND.
FROM DESCRIPTIONS GIVEN BY HER INTIMATE FRIENDS
THE AWFUL DISCOVERY BY MCCARTHY
STRANGE STORY TOLD OF A MAN WITH A BLACK BAG
THE MURDERER ESCAPING FROM THE WINDOW

Figure 12: Illustrated Police News November 17, 1

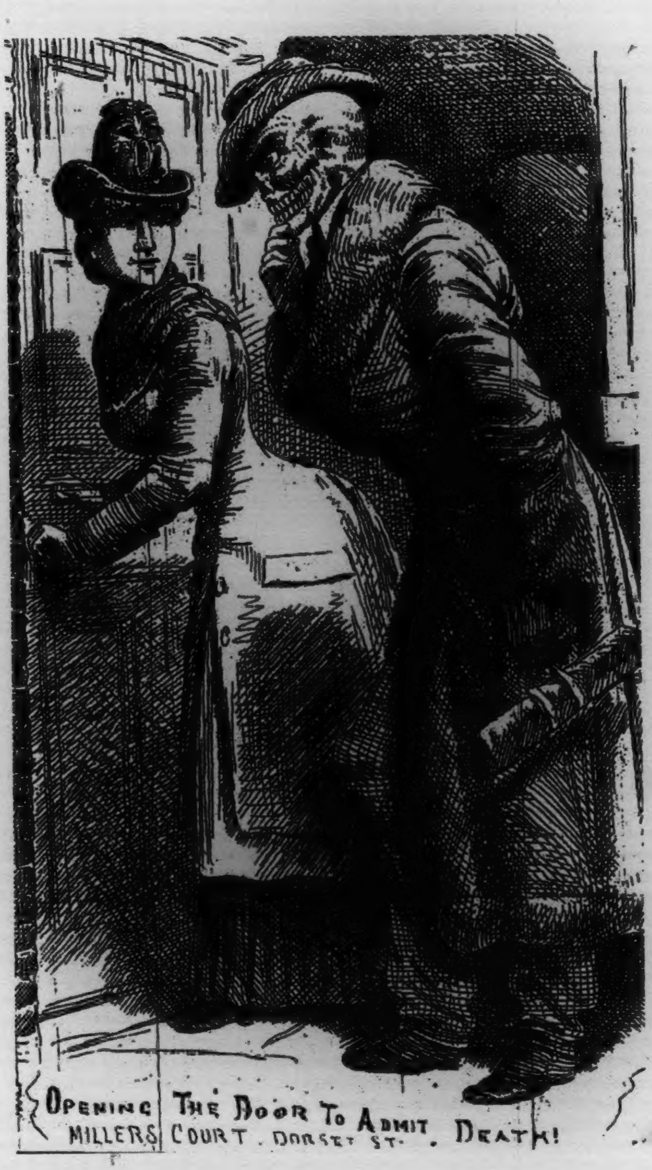
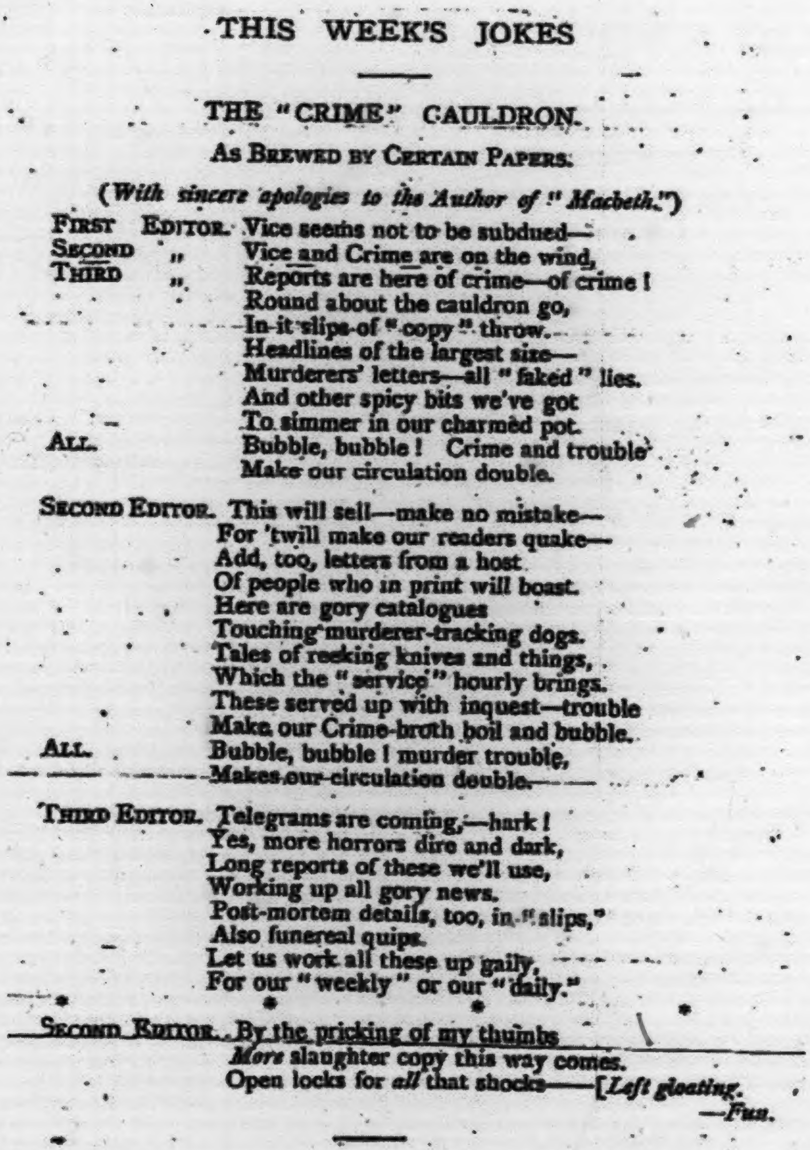

OPENING THE DOOR TO ADMIT DEATH!
MILLERS COURT . DORSET ST.

Figure 13: Illustrated Police News December 8, 1



THIS WEEK'S JOKES

THE "CRIME" CAULDRON.

AS BREWED BY CERTAIN PAPERS.

(*With sincere apologies to the Author of "Macbeth."*)

FIRST EDITOR. Vice seems not to be subdued—
SECOND " Vice and Crime are on the wind,
THIRD " Reports are here of crime—of crime!
Round about the cauldron go,
In it slips of "copy" throw.
Headlines of the largest size—
Murderers' letters—all "faked" lies.
And other spicy bits we've got
To simmer in our charmed pot.
ALL. Bubble, bubble! Crime and trouble
Make our circulation double.

SECOND EDITOR. This will sell—make no mistake—
For 'twill make our readers quake—
Add, too, letters from a host
Of people who in print will boast.
Here are gory catalogues
Touching murderer-tracking dogs.
Tales of reeking knives and things,
Which the "service" hourly brings.
These served up with inquest—trouble
Make our Crime-broth boil and bubble.
ALL. Bubble, bubble! murder trouble,
Makes our circulation double.

THIRD EDITOR. Telegrams are coming,—hark!
Yes, more horrors dire and dark,
Long reports of these we'll use,
Working up all gory news.
Post-mortem details, too, in "slips,"
Also funereal quips.
Let us work all these up gaily,
For our "weekly" or our "daily."

* * * *

SECOND EDITOR. By the pricking of my thumbs
More slaughter copy this way comes.
Open locks for *all* that shocks——[*Left gloating.*

—*Fun.*

Figure 14: Women's Penny Paper November 3, 7

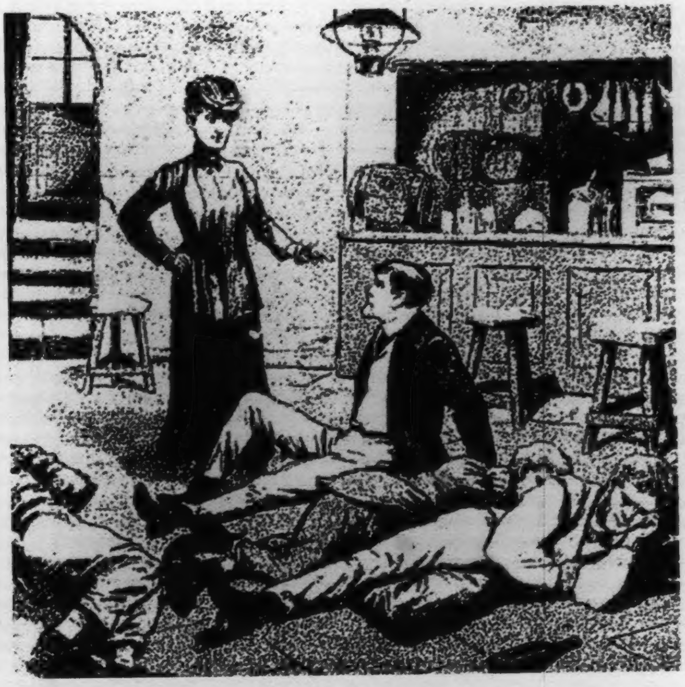


Figure 15: Jack the Ripper: Woman Killer cover illustration